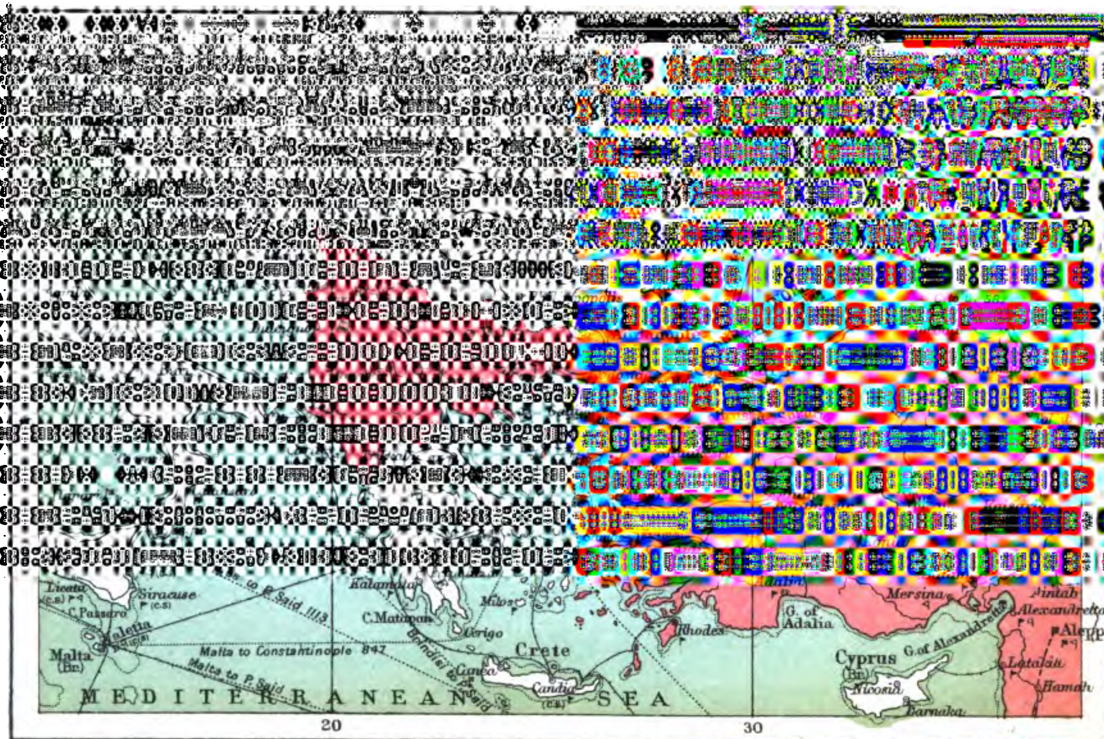
Noel-Buxton

EUROPE AND THE TURKS



SOUTH EAST EUROPE. BERLIN TREATY 1878.
shewing extension of Turkey through British intervention

EUROPE AND THE TURKS

BY NOEL-BUXTON

SOMETIME M.P.

WITH MAPS

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1907

TO

C. F. G. MASTERMAN

M.P.

PREFACE

The question of the Nearer East raises topics of surpassing attraction—the interests of Great Britain, ancient and modern politics, international ethics, the picturesque survivals of medieval Europe which are still to be found in the Balkans, the meaning of civilization itself. But no new volume is required to elucidate these. Rather is it my hope to induce a study of the works which have dealt so admirably with the practical politics involved, notably Mr. Brailsford's 'Macedonia' and 'The Balkan Question,' edited by Mr. Villari.

This hand-book has a humbler aim. It is prompted by a desire to reason with those who, like myself, are suspicious of sensational appeals, who pride themselves on caution, and abhor sentimentality. Happily there is no need either of exaggerated statements or of risky proposals. One is often asked by such

people, 'Why must you push this unfortunate fad? We are busy enough with home affairs. But if you will give us facts in the smallest possible space, and show us what can be done, without provoking a war, we should like to learn the right way to look at it.'

Seeing that we placed Macedonia under the Turks, it is not hard to show the reason why some measure of attention must be spared from the home politics with which all of us are primarily concerned. By the side of outrage and insult the need of a pension or a small holding looks less imperative. The right to live comes first; political ideals follow after.

Brevity is a greater difficulty; it involves the omission of relevant facts and the appearance of crudity. But since a résumé is required, I trust that this volume, written after six journeys in the Balkans, may in some measure supply the need.

NOEL BUXTON.

2, Prince's Gate, S.W.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

WHAT A TRAVELLER SEES

CHAPTER II

THE PAST

CHAPTER III

FACTORS IN THE PROBLEM

CHAPTER IV

THE CAUSE OF THE TROUBLE

CHAPTER V

THE WORK OF THE POWERS

CHAPTER VI

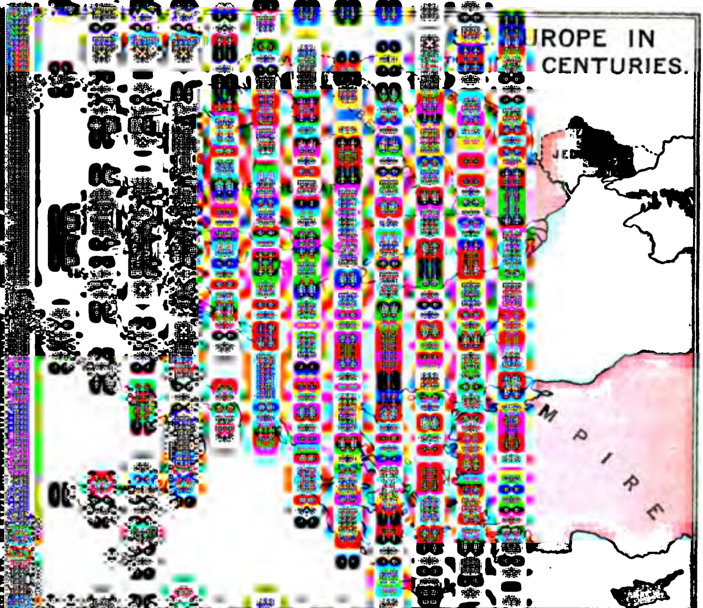
THE RIGHT PLAN

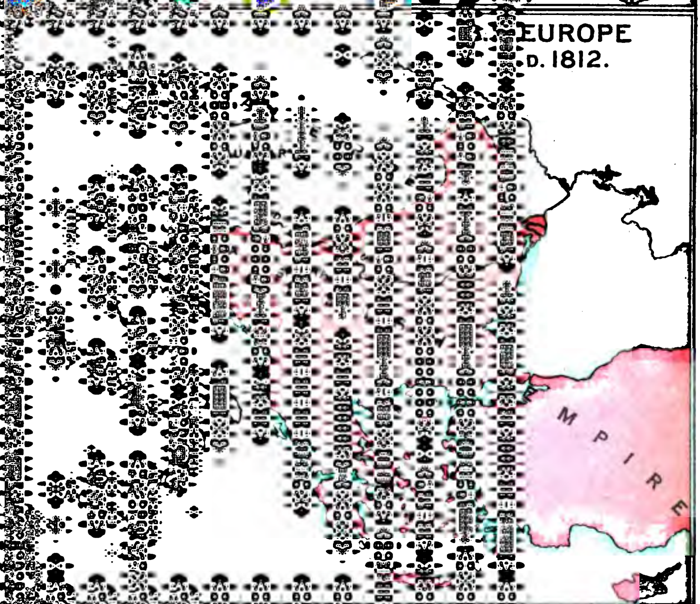
CHAPTER VII

THE REAL QUESTION

APPENDICES

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ROPE IN
CENTURIES.
M P I R E


EUROPE
D. 1812.
M P I R E


WAR


TREATY

EUROPE AND THE TURKS

CHAPTER I

WHAT A TRAVELLER SEES

The free States — Medieval colouring — Monasteries —Ambassadorial wit—The Turkish frontier— Austrian humour—The tragedy.

THREE days' travelling will take one out of Europe and into 'the East,' while a six weeks' holiday permits of a visit to Albania, a country almost as wild as Afghanistan. It is a rare opportunity, this relic of the Middle Ages, brought to our doors by the Orient express; and it cannot last, for civilization creeps on. Yet those who seize the fleeting privilege may be counted on the fingers.

The maps of the school-room teach us to include the Balkan Peninsula in Europe, but, once across the Danubian plains, the traveller will not be long before he discovers himself to be in the East. He has passed at once into a

medieval world: gorgeous national dress confronts him at every village; the dingy garb of the West has given way to the flowing robe of the Mahomedan mollah and the long hair of the Orthodox priest.

The free States of the Balkans combine the charms of East and West. Where Westernism is creeping in it adds to the humour, if not the beauty, of the scene. These nations—Bulgaria, Servia, and Roumania—once in the front of civilization, long enslaved and now set free, play with their new Constitutions like children with a toy, and with a similar result—the toy gets broken. On my first visit to Belgrade I made the acquaintance of two members of the Ministry; on my next visit I was hoping to meet them, but was laughed at for my simplicity: they had gone where Ministers naturally go—one was in prison, the other in exile.

But the humours of politics are only the froth on the surface; there is a deep current of happiness and prosperity, following on the release from bondage. The ancient monasteries, always the symbol of national hopes, but often robbed and ruined in the days of the captivity, are now the scene of such festive happiness as the West knows no longer. At Studenitsa

10,000 people gather to celebrate the Virgin's birthday. At Rilo 7,000 pilgrims sleep in the galleries and the 500 rooms of the monastery itself. They are all the guests of the Abbot, the monastic cook, with his wooden spoon, 6 feet long, serving out dinners from the monastic cooking-pot, a fixed vessel large enough to contain two oxen together. Religious festivals, as formerly in the West, are the occasion of commercial fairs; the fair, again, attracts the whole race of mirth-providers. Dancing occupies the evening, and here may still be seen the blind minstrels of Homeric tradition, singing of national glories long passed, to the strains of the one-stringed guitar. Neither is religion forgotten. At 5 a.m. the monks begin to say Mass, and at daybreak I have hardly found standing-room in the chapel. Round its colonnade are pictures showing the sufferings of the wicked in another world: those of brigands seem to attract most attention, and the Abbot will tell you that these need no apology—it is the only way to teach the illiterate peasant. Life seems here very far from the Western world; and when one learns that in this chapel was held a memorial service at Mr. Gladstone's death, one feels surprised that they have ever heard

of him. Round the villages there is often a large common, covered in autumn with broad sheets of the purple crocus. Here grazes the village herd of dun-coloured cattle, each beast finding its own way in the evening to its master's house in the village street. In this meadow on Sunday afternoon the village gathers for the *horo*, the national dance. A circle of dancers forms round the fiddler (or, if they be Bulgarians, the piper), and whether the number in the circle be six or a hundred, no Western party could compete with it for vigorous mirth. In Bulgaria, while the dancing is going on, you may meet the school-children led by the schoolmaster, who is compelled by law to take his pupils on Sunday afternoon for a natural history ramble. For the politician, too, there are cheering sights. If he reflects sadly on the puzzles of religious education, he will be cheered by the splendid achievement of the Austrian Government in Bosnia. Thirty years ago Moslem, Roman Catholic, and Greek Catholic lived in perpetual and blood-stained feud; now their children sit together in the school. The rival clerics collect their followers in different rooms during the hour for religious teaching (content that the 'atmosphere' should at other times be merely patriotic), and then

the rival sectarians, so lately at war, gather again for playtime in the school-yard.

In these liberated countries the tourist may travel with perfect safety. The Government will, indeed, offer him a gendarme for escort, and he will be well advised to take him, but not to ward off brigands; there is more danger from fierce dogs (such as killed, in this very land, the great Euripides), and these the escort is instructed, if necessary, to shoot; or if the traveller is benighted at some inn, whose appearance suggests that the vermin will be beyond endurance, the gendarme will justify his pay by demanding the hospitality of the best house in the village. Brigandage need not distress the traveller outside Turkey, though I plead guilty to fear on one occasion in Bulgaria. It was just after the capture of the missionary Miss Stone, and that lady was, indeed, reported to be concealed in the very monastery to which we were travelling. Bulgarians and English alike were full of alarm, and a Bulgarian paper of the district had reported that my friend and I were setting out to ransom Miss Stone, carrying £25,000 in our pockets. Considering the temptation, it does indeed speak well for the Bulgarian Government that no violent hands were laid upon us.

The dominions of the Sultan have their charms also for holiday-making; the mountains are beautiful, the tattered escort is picturesque, and barbarism is often funny. On first setting out for the Balkans I told the late Turkish Ambassador in London that I was going in search of health, and in particular for a weak throat; the Ambassador quaintly replied, 'It is not a very good place for throats.' That is no doubt the case for the subjects of the Sultan, but for the European traveller it is safe enough; and, whether it be from the mountain air or from the total absence of luxury, those who have tried it have found it most exhilarating.

The Turkish frontier is always alarming. It is not like most frontiers, an unreal and shadowy existence. The passage from one world to another is immediately signalized by the mouldering custom-house and the tattered uniform. Usually as civilization increases the picturesque disappears, but here it is not so. 'Where the Turkish foot treads the grass never grows.' When the Turk is gone, houses are rebuilt and roads are made, but nothing beautiful is destroyed, for there was none to destroy, except the minarets, which usually remain. The new eaves are wider and the roads shadier,

and orchards relieve the brown monotony of the Turkish waste. Entering Turkey, you leave both prosperity and beauty at once. The poverty of some parts is so great that when I entered Turkey from Servia, the Governor sent a message begging me to bring carriages from Servia if I wanted them, as there were none available in his country.

But to return to the frontier. There is a glorious uncertainty about what will happen. One man is turned back and has his journey nipped in the bud; another is arrested on the suspicion of being an agitator; at the best every item of his luggage is strewn on the floor, and his books, when the official has pretended to read them, usually holding them upside down, are taken from him. On one occasion, by way of experiment, we took with us a copy of the Koran and an anti-Turkish pamphlet; the Turk returned to us the pamphlet, but declined to pass the Koran—his own national Bible. After this we became friendly, and he expressed regret that he could not allow us to take the Koran; but, reflecting that we might reward him with a bribe, he added that if we would go back into Bosnia and post the book from there to our destination in Turkey, he would allow it to pass, as he was

not ordered to examine the post. This was done, and the Sultan's commands thus duly obeyed.

In Turkey there is not much pleasure to be derived from the contemplation of happiness or of natural beauty, except where Nature has been left untouched; but there is humour, though the humour generally brings its inconveniences. A bear-hunting party in the mountains was decidedly quaint. Our host, the manager of a mine in which the villagers worked, entertained us in a battlemented castle, from which he never stirred without a rifle. He began by giving orders that every villager should be ready at 4 a.m. to go out and beat the forest, or he would himself be beaten with the birch. Arrived at the shooting-ground, he posted us for the drive, and gave us strict orders, if we saw any man whom we did not know to be one of the beaters, to shoot him without delay, lest by chance he should be a brigand. We demurred to the chance of shooting an honest peasant, but this he said mattered nothing; the Mayor of the village himself would at the most cost £20. When we finally left the village, he implored us not to let our intentions be known, because we should certainly be kidnapped; and he

proceeded, as a measure of precaution, to order all the villagers off to the forest in another direction for a bear-hunt, which of course did not take place. Having thus put people off the scent, he got up at three next morning and helped us to get off before the village was awake.

One of the strangest things in Turkey is the contempt with which the Turks are treated by some of their Moslem subjects. At Novibazar, in 'old Servia,' Albanians amused themselves by jostling the Turkish Prefect as he was showing us the town. These men wear ragged white clothes and have their heads shaven, except for a long tag of hair at the back, which gives them an amazingly savage appearance; they all carry rifles, even the boys, as soon as they can bear the weight of a Martini. When I was at Mitrovitza, they had recently broken open the prison and driven away the Turkish troops; in 1903 they expelled the representative of the Russian Empire. A dense crowd of them were gathered at our departure from Novibazar, to demonstrate their hostility to the suspected stranger. The impotence of their so-called Turkish Governor was pathetically humorous, but I must confess to considerable anxiety to be

out of the crowd. At Prishtina they had murdered the Servian Consul, and the buildings of the tobacco monopoly, which the Turks had attempted to establish, had served to provide them with a bonfire. A certain Suliman Pasha, an Albanian of that place, quite overshadowed the Turkish Governor. He was celebrating his daughter's wedding, at which 3,000 of his Albanian compatriots attended with their rifles. The feasting was going on for a week, and we were invited to one of the banquets. A Turkish dinner, where you have to sit on the floor, tear up roast ducks with your hands, and appropriate innumerable courses without intermission, is always a painful trial. If you stop for an instant your host will avenge himself by forcing upon you an even larger portion. Your sufferings are vastly increased by having to sit cramped upon the floor. Besides, at a Turkish meal only one glass is provided, and a servant, who carries it with a jug of water, brings it to the guest who wishes to drink; the terrible choice has, therefore, to be made between eating ten large courses without any drink and the unspeakable qualms of sharing the vessel with your companions.

The solemnity of calling on a Turk, with its

inevitable programme of coffee, cigarette, and jam with water, its slow repetition of hypocritical compliments and renewed cigarettes, is amusing to a beginner. It was especially so at that extraordinary spot where the Austrians have a garrison in Turkish territory. The Austrian General took us to the Pasha, and discoursed, as is customary, on the excellent roads and bridges which the Pasha had built. I supposed that, as usual, there were no roads; but I had not realized the pungency of Austrian wit. We learnt afterwards that there was a road and even a bridge, but both had been built by the Austrian himself. I remember coming once on a very fine bridge, an astonishing and welcome sight. The bridge was not Turkish, but Roman; it would have been, however, none the less welcome, but that the river had changed its course, and no longer ran under the Roman bridge—or any other.

Austrian humour goes to even greater lengths of savagery: on the bare limestone hills surrounding the town they have written in huge letters of white stones the monogram of the Austrian Kaiser side by side with the Crescent, and they discourse to the Turks of the charming effect produced when these

emblems are illuminated on the Kaiser's birthday.

If the company of a Mahomedan becomes oppressive, you can generally remove him by producing some article condemned by Mahomed, such as ham or bacon; but the old piety is breaking down, and the decay of fanaticism has its bad side in the growing popularity of the bottle. My friend and I engaged a Mahomedan dragoman, and started out with him the first day with a modest lunch, chiefly of ham and whisky, with some suitable viands for the true believer. We produced the ham bashfully, out of regard for his feelings; but, to our disgust, he displayed a liking for ham equalling our own, with an appetite twice as voracious. He explained that, though a Turk, he was a Liberal. We afterwards crossed the boundary into Montenegro (where a Turk might be unpopular), and found, to our astonishment, that our friend had become a Christian, having hidden his fez and produced an English cap from his pocket. After this he changed his religion no less than three times, avoiding awkward consequences with great skill, except once when he found it convenient to join with us in declaring himself a Protestant, with the result that he was com-

pletely cornered by an inquisitive Greek monk, who demanded to know the Protestant view of the Virgin Mary.

The humours of travel, however, are not to be obtained without a corresponding share of discomfort. A Turkish inn is frequently little more than a range of rotten shanties surrounding a manure-heap, so that the traveller will probably choose a room looking on to the open street, and get as near to the open window as he can. At one place, however, we were not allowed even this luxury; the officer of the escort politely requested us to keep at the other end of the room, and proceeded to draw some curtains across the windows, explaining that the Albanians resented the presence of foreign travellers, and might take the opportunity of shooting them from the street through the window. On leaving the room I fell over the prostrate form of one of the escort; they had had orders not to let us leave their sight, and being sleepy he had stretched himself across the door. At another place we were very anxious to learn the opinions of a Christian merchant; the problem was how to shake off the escort. It was impossible to do so ourselves, so we agreed to go for a walk in the town (which would compel the escort to go

with us), and to leave our interpreter for a talk with the merchant, which he might afterwards report to us. But the Christians implored us to desist; it was as much as their liberty was worth even to be seen talking to the interpreter. Their fears were not ungrounded: two days after we had left the place, and were staying with the Servian Consul elsewhere, a message reached him that a schoolmaster who had been speaking to our servant (albeit in the presence of the escort) had been arrested and thrown into prison. Only on one occasion did we rid ourselves of the scourge. We were spending the night at a small mountain farm, and the farmer had shown his appreciation by killing one of his herd of swine, which he roasted whole for our benefit over a wood fire. The captain of the escort was fortunately a pious Moslem, and when the pig was brought in he fled, and we found ourselves for the first time left alone with the Christians. The Servian Consul, who was with us, and who would have means of verifying statements, seized the opportunity of asking the farmer how things were going on. He replied that the Albanians had demanded from him a ransom of £30, and that, as he could not possibly pay, he would be obliged

to fly across the frontier into Servia, abandoning all his property, and he wanted advice from the Consul as to how he was to provide for his wife, his mother, and his children. He added that his father and his uncle had been murdered by the Albanians. The Consul then inquired, by way of verification, where the murder had taken place. The farmer immediately answered, 'It was in this room,' and he then pointed out two bullet-holes in the wall.

The Turkish drama is indeed more distinguished for tragedy than comedy. The Servian Bishop at Uskub, whose consecration assumed surprising prominence in the press, was very anxious to hear about the English stage, and added: 'Here we have no theatre, but we are noted for our tragedies.' The statement was confirmed by an incident which took place a few days before. A Bulgarian girl had been stolen by a Turk, and her brother begged the Russian Consul to give her refuge if she was rescued. The Consul was so far satisfied of the facts that he did so, and sent the girl home with his wife to Bulgaria. Soon afterwards the brother was found with his throat cut close to the Turk's house. Several Christians (but not the Turk) were thereupon

arrested, and there, as usual, things ended. It is not to be wondered at that the daughters of Christians, as well as of Turks, are hidden under the veil in many districts after they are ten years old. A friend of ours was appealed to by a Christian woman in our presence for advice, because the village gendarme had expelled her husband and taken her into his house, and had now gone away, leaving her in trouble and unprovided for. At another village the schoolmaster replied to our inquiries that all was quiet, they were very happy; but when asked for details, he said that the Turkish sergeant had closed the inn every evening because the innkeeper's wife had refused his advances, but he had not thought such things worth mentioning. He added that he had also been beaten himself, but he did not know why. This reminds me of an Armenian guide at Constantinople, who said that he had not suffered by the massacres. When I asked him if none of his relations had been killed, he replied: 'Yes, one of my brothers was killed, but only one.'

The most tragic situation exists in parts of Albánia where the Albanian population is mixed with the Macedonian or (as in 'old Servia') the Servian. Here, in addition to

the hardships of Turkish government, the defenceless Christians are at the mercy of a savage race, more active than the Turks, forming in practice a class of licensed brigands, respecting no authority, and living by raids on Christian villages. The late Governor of this district, though strongly antichristian, made some attempt to keep up the semblance of Turkish law and order; but the Sultan has an Albanian guard, and his personal safety demands that the Albanians should be humoured, so the unhappy Governor was transferred to Tripoli, whither his secretary had preceded him, having made himself suspected of treasonable radicalism by importing a bicycle. In the same part of Albania I was breakfasting one day with one of the Consuls, when a dishevelled and miserable Servian monk arrived. He had been in charge of a monastery. Some Albanians had arrived, plundered the monastery, and promised him a bullet if he did not go. The great monastery of Detchane, one of the historic and sacred memorials of the Servian Empire, has often been plundered by tribes over whom Turkish authority is absolutely nil. I have even seen an aged priest who was driven to carry a revolver and a Martini rifle himself, so often had he

been attacked; he was anxious to explain that for this irregularity he had a license from the Bishop of Prisrend. It was specially welcome at that time, because war was raging between the Turkish authority and an Albanian chief named Isa Bolietinatz, who objected to the establishment of a Russian Consulate, and compelled the Turks to refuse the Russian demand. I visited this gentleman's castle. It was a lofty stone building, with walls 3 feet thick, an iron door, windows with stone shutters, and loopholes for rifles on every side. The strangest part of this establishment is a small monastery, which, though a Mahomedan, he has founded close to the castle, and in which he keeps an unfortunate monk of the Greek Church practically a prisoner, compelling him to do his bidding on a starvation wage.

Such are some of the chance incidents of a traveller's holiday. It is amazing that signs of violence are actually visible to him. A traveller is so far removed from the realities of local life that any trouble he may actually see is as the far-driven smoke which proves a great fire.

CHAPTER II

THE PAST

The battle of East and West—The cradle of Christendom—The Moslem invasion—The West preserved—Europe in danger—Pitt and Burke—English intervention—Liberation—The Crimea—1876—The Berlin Congress—The wrong horse—Rebellion.

How has this weird relic come down to us?

If the history of Christendom had not been omitted from our education, the Near East would suggest much more than a mere question of keeping the peace. We are on the field of the great battle between East and West—between barbarism and civilization. Here was founded that system of established Christian government to which, for good or for evil, we owe our very existence. Here Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, having established the capital of the Roman Empire at the gateway of Europe and Asia, declared Christianity the state religion. Here he founded three churches, that we may still

visit to-day, dedicating them (in a spirit of compromise with the old philosophy) to Wisdom, Peace, and Resurrection; and here was celebrated that Sacrament which remained in unbroken continuity for 1,100 years. The Church of San Sofia, until the year 1453, though the Pope of Rome had withdrawn from his allegiance, could claim to be the headquarters of the Christian world. Constantinople was at once the centre and the outpost of Christendom, for it was not many generations after Constantine that Mahomed founded his warlike Church, and already—700 years after Christ—the Saracens threatened the Empire. Meanwhile the savage tribes from the North had invaded the East no less than the West; Slavs and Bulgarians, a tribe akin to the Turk, drove the Greek element southward. It was not long before the Greek monks Cyril and Methodios converted the Slavs to the gentler faith. They first invented the Cyrillic alphabet still used by the Slav races, while Methodios impressed the message of Christianity upon his savage hearers by the use of pictures, so, perhaps, originating the passionate devotion to eikons which may be seen to-day in any Orthodox church. Here was the greatest missionary achievement of

Eastern Christianity. But the possession of a common faith did not in the East, any more than in the West, inspire political unity. First the Bulgarian and then the Servian Czars drove back the Greeks to the confines of Byzantium. The feud of Slav and Greek was further complicated by the religious enmity of East and West, and by the rise of Protestant sects like the Bogomils, who, especially in Bosnia, kept their rulers busy with the task of persecution. The Turk was not slow to profit by such an opportunity. Where now the American Protestant College commands the loveliest views of the Bosphorus the Sultan crossed into Europe. The East too late appealed for help to the West. The Pope hesitated, and in 1389 the Servian Empire, which then ruled the Balkan Peninsula, was destroyed at the great battle of Kossovo. Whole populations were butchered or compelled to adopt Islam, and Constantinople, which had been isolated until it should fall an easy prey, was taken in 1453. Mahomedan tyranny overwhelmed like a flood some of the richest countries of Europe, and thus were sacrificed not only the Byzantine Empire and the Slavonic peoples, but also Hungary and Southern Russia, till only some 200 years ago the alien had pene-

trated the very centre of Europe and besieged Vienna.* We forget how short a time has passed since, with vivid realism, men repeated the Psalm, 'The heathen have come into Thy inheritance; Thy holy places have they defiled.'

Many a stately ruin still shows the traveller in Turkey what the East suffered to save the West. Modern education leaves us totally ignorant of our debt to the Eastern Christian. Romish contempt of the Orthodox Church is, oddly enough, retained by Protestants. We ignore the culture that she developed, her splendid evangelism, and the protection she gave to the West. We forget that before the Turk came she was leading the world in civilization. Such is our prejudice and ignorance that the relics of her arts, which in rare cases remote monasteries have saved from the deliberate vandalism of the invader, strike us with surprise. Greek, Serb, Bulgar, Roumanian, Croat, Albanian, Russian, Hungarian — all these suffered in holding back the tide of destruction from the rest of Europe. Alien and barbarous ideals, disgusting and demoralizing to the Christian, were imposed upon many nations, and over a great part of Europe still hold sway. As Mr. Gladstone said, the

* See map.

Christian who retained his faith at the price of slavery, when by recanting he could obtain every favour, is entitled to the name of martyr, and to him also Europe owes the gratitude that is due to the rampart which saved it.

Liberty is coming back by degrees, but progress is slow, and the Government which has in fact, though not in intention, done most to impede liberation is our own. For the salient fact in the modern history of the Near East is the intervention of England as the saviour of Turkey. Though when we first hear this fact it seems to insult us, we cannot deny that our action in the past is responsible for the state of Macedonia. But for this our responsibility would be no greater than that of the other European States, and could be discharged, perhaps, by leaving the matter to the Powers more closely concerned or to the rebels themselves.

The history of our relations with Turkey is a curious one; foreigners call it typically British. Up to the end of the seventeenth century hatred of the Turk was universal in Europe. Catholic and Protestant States alike were in danger of losing their very existence, and though Protestants were to be found who welcomed the Turk as a scourge to the Catholic, the common peril brought all to-

gether when the Turk, in 1683, laid siege to Vienna.* A relic of the universal dread was still to be found not so long ago in the custom of telling naughty children that 'the Turk would be after them.' As late as 1701, in 'The Turkish History' of Sir Paul Rycaut, the diplomatist, we read of 'the Turks who are grown formidable to all the world.' Even England, though beyond the seas, shared the danger and the sense of horror which Turkish enormities inspired. All Western Europe had joined in the Crusades, and the sense of unity, inherited from Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Empire, had not expired; not even the Reformation had entirely killed it. At the end of the eighteenth century, though ten generations had lived and died since the great cleavage of Christendom, Mr.

* The summons delivered to the besieged ran as follows: 'The most happy, invincible, and mighty Emperor of the Universe, the Image of God living on the earth, who is by a multitude of miracles become the greatest Sovereign of both one and the other world, hath sent his armies without number, that they should take Vienna, and there establish the worship of our religion; and we exhort you before we unsheathe our terrible scimitars to embrace our holy religion. But in case you are obstinate, we will put all to the sword as is commanded by our Holy Law.'

Pitt's proposal that England should join with Turkey against the encroachments of Russia was received with such hostility by Fox and Lord Grey that the Minister, though at the height of his power, was compelled to abandon it. To side with the Turk was treason to the highest law, and the general sentiment was voiced by Burke when he declared that 'any Christian Power was to be preferred to these destructive savages.'

Yet within a very few years the outlook was entirely changed. The Turk had ceased to conquer, and commerce became the supreme interest. For England in particular the trade with India had grown to be a matter of vital concern, and men suddenly found that their duty to Europe might endanger their profits. The righteous indignation which had met Mr. Pitt's proposal died away, and for a hundred years financial interest struggled successfully with justice for the control of our policy. Political ideals had sunk from the conception of Christendom to that of the balance of power, and we used the Turk to check the growing influence of Russia. To save Turkey we fought one great war and prepared for another. It is a strange paradox that during this same hundred years we gained

a name for befriending freedom, and that, too, on the very field—the soil of the Turkish Empire—where England was opposing it. For though this reputation of ours is mainly due to the work of Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone in the liberation of Italy, yet it began with Canning and with the fame of Byron as a fellow-soldier with the Greeks, and it was maintained by Gladstone's stupendous effort to checkmate the policy of Disraeli. Every Harrow boy is nurtured on the song that tells how

> 'Byron lay, Byron lay,
> Dying for freedom, far away';

while Gladstone's gift of the Ionian Islands to Greece and his classic denunciation of Turkey are perhaps the most memorable, because the most unique, features of his life.

And although we did our best for Turkey, yet liberation proceeded all through the century. Greeks, Serbs, Roumanians, all rebelled. Europe, tired of the long distraction of the Greek War of Liberation, combined in 1827 to sink the Turkish fleet at Navarino, and though the temper of certain classes in England was clearly shown in Wellington's description of this achievement as an 'untoward event,' the independence of Hellas was accomplished for

ever. Servia and Roumania won the elements of freedom by their own heroic courage, and it was a reckless bravery, so well described in the brilliant pages of Mr. Benson's 'Vintage,' that liberated Greece.

Then came the advance of Russia, the pathetic hesitation of Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet between concern for the Eastern Christians on the one hand and national alarms on the other, drifting finally to the Crimean War. In all the literature of the Turkish question there is none more interesting than the Duke of Argyll's pamphlet on 'Our Responsibility for Turkey,' where, writing in 1895, he defends the principle on which he and Mr. Gladstone, the last survivors of the Aberdeen Cabinet, supported the cause of war. In the Treaty of Paris which followed the war we find declarations in favour of equal rights between Christian and Mahomedan—a sop to the British conscience. These the Turks were wise enough to embody in the formal proclamation known as the Hatti-Humayun of 1856, which has ever since been a dead-letter. Lord Aberdeen did something to relieve his sense of regret by urgent dispatches to the Sublime Porte, of which the following is an example of special interest:

'The Christian Powers . . . will now require from the Porte due consideration for their feelings as members of a religious community, and interested as such in the fate of all who, notwithstanding shades of difference, unite in a common belief in the essential doctrines of Christianity; and they will not endure that the Porte shall insult and trample on their faith by treating as a criminal any person who embraces it.'

Russia, foiled in the frontal attack, turned to more diplomatic methods. Hardly had the British ships returned from the Bosphorus when the Slavonic people of European Turkey, disappointed for the first but not the last time, began to cast about for means of attracting other help. Adventurous spirits conceived the idea that, if Russia were not allowed to help them, some effective sympathy might be won by appealing to the West as fellow Roman Catholics. The Pope was asked to recognize congregations of Orthodox Christians, though still retaining their married priesthood and liturgy in their own language, as belonging to the Roman Church. This Uniate community, as it was named, began to grow apace; but Russia took alarm and offered a more enticing bait. She supported the re-

vival of the old Bulgarian Church, and this proved a stronger attraction. The Southern Slavs had long been exploited and denationalized by the clergy of the Greek Patriarchate. They were not allowed their own language, and their books were destroyed; they had learned to call themselves Greeks, so that Kinglake, when writing 'Eothen,' did not even mention the existence of Bulgars. The new Exarchate, as it was called, met the desire for a revived national existence. Within ten years the once down-trodden spirit of the Bulgar peasants was equal to rebellious efforts. Rifles were smuggled in, cannons were secretly made out of cherry-trees, and in 1875 the insurrection described by Mr. Vazof in 'Under the Yoke' took place. This was savagely repressed, and in the following year the indignation of England was suddenly roused by 'the Bulgarian atrocities.' The people of the little town of Batak, attacked by Turks, had taken refuge within the church, and there been butchered, down to the smallest child. The church to this day is filled with their bones, while a new one has been erected to the memory of Lady Strangford, who, with other English people, carried relief to the neighbouring villages.

But Mr. Disraeli stoutly denied the fact of outrage, and described it in a famous speech as 'pothouse babble.' Parliament was still sitting when undeniable evidence arrived from the correspondent of the *Daily News*, Mr. Edwin Pears, now leader of the Consular Bar at Constantinople, who took the risk of visiting Batak. Mr. Gladstone flew to arms, and England rang with fury when his pamphlet revealed the use to which the national resources had been applied. But the Government had a large majority, and scoffed at sentiment. Lord Salisbury was sent to the conference at Constantinople, and the imposition of serious reforms was prevented by England's influence. Russia went to war. Plevna was at last captured, and, at the cost of 10,000 lives, the rampart of the Balkan range was scaled at the Shipka Pass. In March, 1878, the Russians were at San Stefano within sight of Constantinople, and the famous treaty was passed by which practically the whole of European Turkey, with the exception of Albania, became the free principality of Bulgaria. Every one of the villages where now bloodshed reigns was freed by this compact.*

But England would have no dangerous

* See map.

liberations. The Prime Minister had rightly gauged the English capacity for panic. He talked of protecting the Christians by a system of military Consuls, who should practically dominate the Turkish Administration, and all that Mr. Gladstone's eloquence could do was to induce some ninety Liberals to vote against the preparations for war with Russia. Lord Randolph Churchill tried hard to change his leader's determination, but national pride and fear possessed the governing classes like a fever. One of our most prominent Admirals remembers how when the news of San Stefano arrived, he was attending Queen Victoria upon the royal yacht. He recalls the simple determination with which the Queen, on hearing how the Czar's troops were on the Sea of Marmora, accurately voicing the national mood, remarked, 'They must go out.' There was no question of refusing our demand, for the Russians were receiving their supplies by sea.

The Congress of Berlin was called. The English Premier (though he could not speak French) bluffed the Powers with consummate skill. Cyprus was secretly granted us by treaty in return for our promise to protect Turkey by force, and 5,000 villages which had found them-

selves actually released were put back under the régime of murder and rapine.

Had it not been for Mr. Gladstone the effect of the Russo-Turkish War would have been nothing more than the annexation of Bosnia by Austro-Hungary. As it was, while Macedonia was lost, a part of Bulgaria was freed and Servia enlarged. Mr. Disraeli concealed his regret at this mutilation of the Turkish Empire by claiming that he had achieved its 'consolidation.'

When the Russophobe fever had subsided, Mr. Gladstone aroused the country to its senses, appealing not only to humanity, but to an intelligent view of national interests; for, said he, if you want a barrier against Russia you will find it, not in a dying despotism, but in the breasts of free men. The election of 1880 showed how the Jingo government had misrepresented the nation, but it was too late; the Turkish question was no longer upon the table, and all that Mr. Gladstone could do was to persuade the Powers to join in demanding the execution of some minor provisions of the Berlin Treaty. Sir Henry Layard was recalled from Constantinople as being unqualified to express the Liberal policy, and Mr. Goschen, who took his place, proved a suc-

cessful instrument in persuading the youthful Sultan, who relinquished Thessaly on the mere proposal of Mr. Gladstone to effect an occupation of Smyrna. The Berlin Treaty by Article 23 promised autonomous government to Macedonia. It is thus to the public law of Europe that she appeals. All that was actually achieved was the addition of a few square miles to Montenegro and the annexation of Thessaly to Greece. The Government of 1880 was soon immersed in Irish and Egyptian troubles. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice was sent as Commissioner to devise reforms, but his scheme was never enforced, and Macedonia was forgotten.

No one now denies that our conduct at this crisis sacrificed, in actual fact, some millions of European villagers to pain and degradation for our ends; but its result has been somewhat obscured by the sense that it was also futile. We would gladly forget it. Yet even self-interest forbids us to let the question alone, while the most elementary sense of honour demands that we shall spare no single effort to redeem the victims of our action.

In 1878 the turning-point in Near Eastern history had, though unexpected, arrived, and in six years the policy of supporting the Turk

was again admitted to have been a mistake, even more completely than after the Crimean War. For one thing at least had been accomplished—the Bulgarian race had gained a footing in the world; the leading figure in the Balkan drama had appeared upon the stage. Russia had created Bulgaria, and we had regarded her as a Russian outpost; but almost immediately it appeared that both we and the Russians had been in the wrong, for Bulgaria proved a refractory child, and when she was attacked by Servia, Russia took revenge by suddenly withdrawing all the 300 officers whom she had supplied to the new State. Bulgaria's army was left with no leader of more than company rank. Among these captains and lieutenants, however, were men of genius, and by an extraordinary *tour de force* Bulgaria won. Russia was angry, and Bulgaria turned for help to Russia's foe. England also had quickly found that she, in Lord Salisbury's phrase, had 'put her money on the wrong horse,' for Turkey fell quickly under Russian influence, and when in 1884 the two parts of Bulgaria, which England in 1878 had stipulated should be kept asunder, declared themselves one, it was the British Ambassador who saved the Bulgarian State

from Turkish and Russian vengeance. Russia called a conference of the Ambassadors, and proposed that the Turk should be empowered to reoccupy Eastern Roumelia—that is, the southern half of Bulgaria—and most of the Powers were with her. Here was a chance for a vigorous man. There are those who well remember how Sir William White first exhausted the conference by thundering declamations through the whole of a hot afternoon at Tophane, then obtained the adjournment of the meeting, and afterwards contrived to prevent another from being called—so soon had Mr. Gladstone's prophecy come true, that if we wanted a bulwark against Russia, we should do what was also humane, and liberate the nations of European Turkey. Had we done so, greater Bulgaria might to-day be strong enough to obviate any further question of the disposal of European Turkey. Dishonesty was the wrong policy, and the mistake has still to be redeemed.

Doubtless the action that proved so regrettable, and which led to the re-enslavement of the people of Macedonia, was adopted without realizing its enormity. It proved also the greatest folly, though by an inscrutable law the chief sufferers have been, not

the wrong-doer, but the wronged. Since 1878 the demoralization of the Turk, once trusted to resist Russia, has proceeded apace, and disorder has, by general consent, become even more intolerable than in the old days.

The people of Macedonia, abandoned by the Powers, were compelled to take the sword themselves, and in spite of the efforts of the Powers to restrain them, some progress has been made since the Berlin Treaty. Rebellious movements elsewhere have incited them. First the Armenians, who since the insurrection of the Greeks had been employed as the brains of the empire, misjudged the Christianity of Europe, and put all to the risk in 1894. The degradation of Christendom had not been realized by any section of mankind. The Sultan himself was astonished to find that his deliberate butcheries went unpunished; he became bolder still, and drove home the lesson he desired to teach by killing 6,000 Armenians before the windows of the foreign embassies. It was the turn of the Powers themselves to be astonished, but it was their own indifference which had made it possible to complete in this way their ignominy. The sacrifice produced no visible gain, and Armenia remains where she was.

We may wonder why the incredible risks of insurrection are incurred, till we realize that if we had to choose between a life of continual outrage against every feeling we held most dear on the one hand, and on the other hand the danger of death, the latter would be the lesser evil.

Secondly, in the Arabian province of Yemen rebellion has dragged its course for years, but without foreign help can hardly succeed for long.

Greece has been more successful, for by risking the displeasure of the Powers and the humiliation of an unsuccessful war, she has obtained the liberation, and practically the annexation, of Crete.

Bulgaria has not been so fortunate. For fifteen years the spirit of the Macedonians appeared to be crushed by disappointment, but then began to appear the germ of an organization which has proved itself one of the most remarkable in the history of revolutions. When I first visited Macedonia, in 1899, the Internal Committee, as it is called, had done nothing bigger than the capture of one small Turkish picket and some acts of revenge upon specially obnoxious Turks; but it had issued appeals to Europe, and collected rifles in Macedonia, while, owing to the out-

rages inflicted on villages suspected of concealing arms, Sir Philip Currie had sent a diplomat to the interior for the purpose of inquiring into the grievances of the peasants, thus calling the attention of Europe. In 1902 dissensions in the Committee led to an abortive rising. The rising was followed by such widespread cruelty that some thousands of refugees, abandoning all that they had, fled through the mountains and forests into Bulgaria, where, at the romantic monastery of Rilo, Europeans helped to relieve them. The credit of informing the world that the Turk was again beginning his bloody work once more fell to the *Daily News*, whose special correspondent undertook an adventurous ride in that winter. The rapid increase of disorder compelled the Powers to exchange views, and in February, 1903, the two Eastern empires, fearing an encroachment by the other Powers on the field which they had decided to occupy themselves, issued the so-called Vienna Scheme of reform. The Turk accepted it at once, so mild were its proposals, and things went on as before. But the danger had roused the Turk to the only method of keeping order which his limited intellect could understand, and in July the rebels found that, owing to

the untimely haste of their more reckless spirits and the brutal suppression which ensued, they were driven to serious insurrection. Over 100 villages were burned, and 3,000 peasants killed. The rest of the story is familiar.

Though England suggested a Christian governor, Russia and Austria, by the Murszteg Scheme of October, 1903, again endeavoured to keep the field to themselves, while leaving the country in such disorder that they could intervene more successfully for their interests at a suitable time. But Lord Lansdowne pushed them forward further than they desired, and the other Powers obtained a footing in the matter by the provision that officers of all the five Governments should be allotted spheres of influence in which to supervise the gendarmerie. His proposal, however, for European control was rejected. After endless discussions and the acceptance of Turkish uniforms, the officers took up their residence (no powers were assigned to them) in April, 1904. So little had they effected by the following winter that Lord Lansdowne again proposed an advance, urging that a Commission of the Powers should be established, with actual control of the administration.*

* See Appendix.

But the susceptibilities of Russia and Austria once more prevented the respective Cabinets of France and Italy from giving their support, and in the end, though Lord Lansdowne's effort culminated in the occupation of Mitylene by the international fleet in December, 1905, no real control was obtained. Nothing more, in fact, resulted than the recognition that the matter was one for the whole Concert, and the appointment of Commissioners from each Power to 'supervise' the financial side of the Macedonian government. The machinery of reform is established, but there is as yet no steam in the shape of executive authority to drive it. The demonstration proved of such difficulty and unsuccess that diplomacy itself appears after this to have given up hope of a peaceful solution. In default of a leader sufficiently active to carry the Concert forward across the bridge which lies between supervision and control, it awaits the solution which diplomats profess to avoid—the solution by war.

CHAPTER III

FACTORS IN THE PROBLEM

Complications—Rise of Nationalism—Slav *v.* Greek—Rival claims—The Great Powers to blame—Russia checked by England—Austrian and German ambition—France and Italy indifferent—England uncertain—Need of a leader.

No one denies that some of the richest parts of the globe are lying wasted and blood-stained under the Turkish yoke, but the course of their liberation has dragged on too long. The world is sick of the question, and catches at any excuse, and it is almost with pleasure that the politician arrives at sufficient knowledge of the matter to be able to say that it is too complicated for solution. No doubt the difficulties are great: what great reform was ever easy? To-day the abolition of slavery passes for an obvious mark of a civilized State, but it required a Parliamentary campaign of thirty years to bring it to an end, and that, too, within the last century.

The complications of the Macedonian ques-

tion are not equal to those of South Africa, even allowing for the fact that the co-operation of many Powers is required to solve them; but they are formidable enough—of a magnitude corresponding to the urgency of the problem. How have they arisen?

So long as a Great Power held the frontier of Europe, the progress of liberation was rapid. When, in 1683, the Turkish armies failed to take Vienna, the tide of Islam had reached its high-water-mark. Austria began to recover lost ground, and by the end of the eighteenth century her fortresses were established along the whole line, from east to west, of the Danube and the Save.* In a single century she had driven the Turk back into the Balkans, and the danger, which in our great-grandfathers' time men well remembered as threatening to extinguish Europe, was passed. The subject peoples of the Turkish Empire themselves began to take courage, and early in the nineteenth century the Greek, the Serb, and the Roumanian began to throw off the yoke. National feeling made the burden intolerable. When these little States had been established, the Turk was no longer face to face with a Power stronger than himself, but with feeble

* See map.

nations unable to make headway against him. Thus, in order to carry forward the flag of civilization, it was necessary that these little Powers should work together. Formerly the subjects of the Sultan saw themselves liberated by great armies, which marched across their lands. Happy it was for those who, like the Hungarians, obtained their liberty first, and found their national existence afterwards. A harder fate attends the Southern Slav and the Greek, who are unable to drive back the Turk without the closest military co-operation, yet are debarred from such union by the confusion of claims to the still unliberated country.

Even so the neighbouring Great Powers, Russia and Austria, would have continued the strife had they not been hampered by the growth of rivalry in the larger world of the European Concert. The Great Powers obey no law; each bows to no higher court of arbitration than the ability of the others to stand in his way; and some of them sit round the death-bed of the Turkish Empire like the settlers round an Indian reserve in America, ready to rush in when the native rights are brought to an end. Here, and not in the feuds of the local nations, lies the real difficulty of liberating Macedonia.

The type of man who desires to shirk trouble without admitting that he is doing so lays the blame for the Macedonian embroglio on the quarrels of the local States; but while Europe forbids these nations to attack Turkey, the blame is misplaced. If it were not for the excessive heat of the passions aroused, the patriotism of the various nations would furnish an edifying spectacle.

What is the essential cause of the strife? It is that the Slav and the Greek overlap each other in such a way that any possible frontier between the two must hand over considerable populations to an alien Government. As if Providence had not done enough by this overlapping in the way of complication, the Powers increased it by creating the principality of Bulgaria, thus dividing the Slav element into two nations, when they might have been one. There are, therefore, three chief claimants to Macedonia, each demanding, after the fashion in vogue in an Eastern bazaar, at least double what it would take. All three base their claim on history and race, the Serb and the Bulgarian also on language. The Bulgarian further insists that a man's nationality—which in this part of the world is synonymous with Churchmanship—may be known by the Church he

actually belongs to. The Greek, in medieval style, prefers as an index the Church he ought not to have abandoned. You may award the verdict according as you think that history, blood, language or religion should be the basis of States.

The Chauvinist of each nation puts his case wildly, and for our purpose it is better to imagine what a delegate from each nation would say, if empowered to state his claim at the Hague Conference. It would be well for the chairman to limit the speeches to five minutes, for the essential facts could be stated as follows:

The Greek.—'My claim to Macedonia comes down from antiquity. We are the heirs of Alexander the Great. The Byzantine Empire, at all events, was Greek. For seven centuries we fought the Mahomedan and saved Europe from destruction. We, too, were the first to set ourselves free. Byron and Gladstone were on our side. We gave culture to the world, and to this day we are the civilizing element in the Near East. Till the last half-century all the Christians in Macedonia acknowledged the Patriarch of the Greek Church, and called themselves Greek. Give us, at all events, the whole of Southern Macedonia and Thrace, for their people are Greek.'

The Serb.—'We also ruled the whole peninsula, and much more recently. When the Turks took possession of the country it was the glorious empire of the Czar Dushan that was sacrificed on the field of Kossovo to protect Europe. We alone threw off the oppressor without help. You blame us now for changing our dynasty in the old-fashioned way. What of your own regicidal acts, committed after centuries of freedom had given you time to grow peaceful, while our civilization was crushed five centuries ago, and kept at the point to which Europe had then arrived? We have never had a fair chance. Our nation is cut into four pieces, for Bosnia and Old Servia are ours, and Montenegro, that never yielded to the Turk. Austria has hampered our trade, Russia has interfered with our politics, and we are not even allowed to have access to the sea.'

The Bulgarian would not occupy the time allowed him, for he is a man of few words. At the most he would say: 'The people of Macedonia call themselves Bulgarians, but we do not want their country. Only give them peace. They flood our labour markets, and their sufferings excite our people. Give them autonomy, or any decent government you like. We would rather, like the real mother before Solomon,

give the whole child to someone else than see it divided.'

He would say nothing of past glory or present culture. It is irksome to him to express pride or even gratitude, else he also might claim that twice in the last thousand years the Bulgarian Empire governed the peninsula; and more cogently he might speak of the astonishing progress of his country in the brief lifetime of one generation—of commerce, of agriculture, the political fame of Stambuloff, and the literary works of Vazof, translated into all the great languages of Europe.

Servia is much to be pitied. We must not blame the Serb if he talks too much of his past glory. When the Turkish extinguisher came down on the candle of Balkan civilization, it was Servia that had kindled the flame, and in the marble chapel of the ancient monastery of Studenitsa you may still see the embroidered banners and illuminated volumes of what was then one of the leading civilizations of the world. And of all the pitiable populations of European Turkey the Serbs of Old Servia are the greatest sufferers; that historic home of the race is rapidly becoming depopulated. Servia is denied not only political unity, but even economic liberty.

She has no outlet to the sea, and Austria (being her only customer) can, and does, impose economic slavery. While Austria shuts her from the ocean and throws out a long arm to divide the two Servian branches of Servia and Montenegro, no wonder that annexation is planned in Macedonia. Servia must wait for the union of her race, but it is hard upon her to delay.

The Greek has long supplied the brain of the East. Egypt herself can hardly be governed, much less grow rich, without the Greeks, and there are parts of Macedonia which it would be cruel not to add to the dominions of King George.

The process of liberation has gone so far as to give each nation a footing upon free soil except one, Albania. This ancient people must not be lost to the comity of nations. Macedonia forms no homogeneous race specially distinguished from Greek or Serb, but Albania cannot be divided without destroying a nation. Albania has a history too: the Turk has kept her employed with tribal feud and vendetta, and divided her people in religious faith; but the Albanian is the least bigoted of zealots. I have even visited a chief who, though a Mahomedan, supported a

Christian priest to serve an ancient chapel on his estate, and often joined in prayers for the protection of the patron saint. The Mohammedan convert among the Greeks and Slavs becomes a Turk, but an Albanian remains true to his nation's hopes. He is the ideally faithful retainer. If the traveller praises the Turk because he finds his Turkish servant so delightful, you will generally find that this Turk is an Albanian. He is often found among the ablest of Turkish Governors and the most devout of Roman Catholic priests. When relief was sent from England to keep alive those whom the Sultan intended to kill by starvation in 1903, it was the trusty Albanians who made the work possible.

With the Sick Man's estate waiting to be divided, what wonder if every possible claimant puts in an appearance? Even Roumania, though her frontiers do not touch Turkey, thinks it worth while to create something to bargain with at the final distribution, and she has a basis of claim in the Roumanian people of Macedonia, most of them wandering shepherds, but others prosperous tradesmen, who have created some of the wealthiest towns in the country.

The Greek, the Serb, the Bulgarian, the

Roumanian, all endeavour to increase the number of their compatriots by means of churches and schools, financed largely by the respective Governments. The schoolmasters vie with each other in offering inducements to attend their school, so much so that the parent may sometimes not only get his children clothed and educated for nothing, but make an income also out of them, for instead of paying he receives a fee.

The spirit of Chauvinism is but thinly veiled under the garb of Churchmanship. No one can understand the outlook in Macedonia without realizing that nationalities are identified with Churches, combining to produce an intensity of nationalist feeling quite incredible to the Occidental. In these circumstances religion is degraded to the level of a pretext for exciting national zeal, and although the respective Churches make no pretence of differing to the smallest extent in theology or ritual, yet the hatred of heresy (which filled the West of Europe with war after the Reformation) is often used to fan the flame. The machinery of the Church is employed for the prosecution of international war. This war must proceed in the barbarous atmosphere maintained by the Turk, and consequently also by the use of

barbarous means. The killing of Christian by Christian is deplorable enough without our misjudging it. It would be as unfair to call these people unworthy of liberty as it would be to say that Protestants and Catholics of the seventeenth century were not capable of evolution or fit for the name of Christian. If war is justified at all, the combatants cannot be blamed for using the only weapons they are able to employ. It is simply through misfortune that they are driven to war at the very moment when they need the help of Europe to escape from barbarous conditions. We do not call French and Germans barbarous because they fought about Alsace. In this case the claimants have to settle with each other, and also with the Turk. The powers cannot complain of this while they refuse either to let the dog fight honestly for the bone or to take charge of the bone themselves. One sometimes hears a cry of despair from those who supported Mr. Gladstone in his work for the Balkan Christians—how they hoped for a Balkan confederation and how hopeless the case is now. These people, they say, can never unite. But do they know that this strife of nationalism is carefully and skilfully kindled by the Turk, and is so purely

artificial that you will sometimes find in the same family one of the sons brought up Bulgarian and another Serb, while the relations of the Servian and Bulgarian Governments, which five years ago appeared permanently estranged, lately now arrived at a cordial entente?

Or, again, we are told that the races are too mixed for autonomy, so that the Turk had better stay. If these critics studied the statistics of Hungary or Austria or Switzerland, they would find those populations equally heterogeneous. Some disentanglement will be needed, but this is no more than the obvious task. The history of the last century is already the history of the disentanglement of races. Language is no difficulty, for all Macedonians are polyglot, and where whole families are accustomed to make an annual migration, movements of population are not impossible. Every liberation from Hungary to Crete has involved difficulties, and every liberation has brought disorder to an end.

The Turkish principle, *Divide et impera*, is carried out with some skill. If any nationality grows too strong, its churches and schools —the only protectors of national existence— are given to the rival party, while the troops

organize bands to decimate the dangerous element by murder and massacre.

There is no country where such methods of government would not succeed in producing internecine strife, if an opening were afforded by a mixture of races and a keen patriotic feeling.

Yet these last are not things which we condemn. When we incline to doubt if the Balkan peoples themselves do not make liberation futile, there is one unfailing index to show us whether 'the pig makes the sty or the sty the pig.' It is this: that in no single case has Turkish authority been removed without an immediate cessation of bloodshed and a growth of civilization which, in view of the past, is in some ways more amazing than that of Japan.

No Englishman blames rebellion against cruel tyranny, but we are sometimes told that if nations fail to get free it is because they have not fibre and pluck—they are not fit for freedom. For us who have nothing to suffer for a cause, and need not risk our lives, is this not a little mean? These people could all get protection and privilege if they denied Christ. As to pluck, their fault is rather that they are too daring. An Englishman who accompanied a band found himself eating his supper within 200 yards of a Turkish picket.

The rebels go to more than probable death. They carry poison lest they should be taken alive and be tortured. A band of fifteen was lately surrounded and found its retreat cut off. When cartridges were nearly exhausted, they hurriedly debated how to die. They asked the leader to shoot each in turn. He did so, and then blew out his own brains. A letter was found from one of the band to his mother, hoping she would forgive what trouble he had caused her when she heard how he gave his life.

Can we afford to call them feeble?

Lady Thompson, travelling where she had previously distributed relief, asked after a certain deaf-mute boy. His mother for a few moments was unable to speak, then she said: 'The Turks killed him. We did not find him at first. When the snow melted we found his cap. It was terrible! But we do not sorrow now—he died for his people.'

Shall we not give these people a chance to live—to make of themselves, as Mr. Bryce has written, 'nations that may create new types of character and new forms of literary and artistic life'?

* * * * *

To dispose of the Macedonian problem two steps are needed—first, to find a scheme of

government; secondly, to impose it upon the Turk. The former is, in fact, accomplished, and it is not the inhabitants of Macedonia who make it unattainable. The second is the business of the Great Powers, and it is they who fail. The obstacle is their own jealousies and greeds.

Of the six Powers, one in particular might, in a reasonable world, be expected to protect her cousins the Southern Slavs. Russia was, in fact, in a fair way to deliver them, but England prevented her. If it had not been for the Crimean War and Mr. Disraeli's Berlin policy there would be no Macedonian problem now. In fear of Russia, we incited Austria to move southwards; by giving her Bosnia we directed her eyes towards Macedonia and the port of Salonica. But now that we have seen our mistake we halt between two policies, with the result that Russia and Austria took counsel together, and agreed in 1897 to divide European Turkey if the time should come.

Russia and Austria would at least put a stop to bloodshed, but they would encroach on the rights of other Powers, both great and small. Their present policy is merely one of delay. Each has her own difficulties at home, and would rather maintain the *status quo* till

the Macedonian plum is ripe. Populations are more easily governed when they are exhausted. Events are paving the way, and it is enough if each Power can prevent the other from stealing a march.

These two Great Powers have shown some energy. They carry on a propaganda by liberal gifts to churches and monasteries, and by a display of sympathy now with one party among the Christians and now another. A favourite method of Russia is to encourage her agents to venturous courses, and repudiate them if they fail. Sometimes the Consul tries a domineering policy; hence the murder of a Russian Consul in 1903.

The novel feature of the situation is the intervention of Germany. The Kaiser's visit to Turkey, and his famous address to 'his good friend the Sultan,' have created a belief that a definite policy of adventure in Turkey is being pursued. It is more likely that some keen spirits in the German Foreign Office, perhaps incited rather by hunters after profitable trade concessions than by patriotic Chauvinism, suggested the policy of fishing in troubled waters. Turkey is dying; why not get what you can before the death? Something could be made out of railways in Asia

Minor, and the mines of Thasos are yielding a princely fortune. At all events, the policy would act as a sop to the trading classes in Germany, who have a grudge against the Emperor. So the Embassy at Constantinople became a banking-house. Colonies were founded in Asia Minor, the Bagdad Railway concession was obtained, and the Powers were cajoled into permitting an increase in the Turkish Custom duties, so as to finance the German scheme. Germany by obstructing reform poses as the Sultan's friend, and gets her reward. She has prolonged the reign of bloodshed in Macedonia, but she has something to bargain with when the crash comes; and who are we to blame another people for putting humanity second when interest is at stake?

Over against the three empires nursing the Sick Man, from whom they hope to inherit, stand the three Western Powers, through whose democratic assemblies the humane instincts of the common people make themselves felt. Their interests, also, favour the welfare of the small Balkan nations, by whatever dispositions these may be promoted. But the Eastern Powers have the *status quo* on their side. France follows Russia. She drops her

protectorate of the Eastern Christians, and gets big orders for the Creusot gun factory. Italy must go with her allies Austria and Germany. She fears the former may encroach upon her in Albania, but she cannot do more than trust in Austria's promise to keep her hands off that country. She finances Albanian schools and builds a railway in Montenegro, the home of the Italian Queen, which will be useful to checkmate Austria's designs, though Austria's railways have had the start, and already bring her into measurable distance of a direct line to Salonica.

England, since she found (as Lord Salisbury put it) that she had 'put her money on the wrong horse,' has favoured the Small Powers, and for Macedonia urges autonomy. But her voice is uncertain. Bulgaria, though we saved her from the vengeance of Russia in 1885, found that she could not rely upon us when Prince Alexander needed our support. English opinion is still confused by the historic question, 'Shall Russia be allowed to possess the Dardanelles?' Government and people alike are swayed by the relics of party tradition. The Conservative faintly remembers that his party backed the Turk; the Liberal knows that Gladstone's contrary policy won the Liberal

victory of 1880; but each is ignorant of his clients, and many are sceptical of all interference. The most definite factor lies in the great but unsuspected numbers scattered over the country who are determined to atone for the sad result of our intervention in 1878.

The nations of Europe are indifferent, but there is not so much active opposition as a certain *vis inertiæ*. What is lacking is simply a leader. He would find no positive opposition to obstruct him. The progress which Lord Lansdowne achieved in the face of a reluctant Europe and hostile colleagues is enough to show what a Minister might do with circumstances improved as they already are. But the solution of the difficult knot does require a definite lead. It is not a question of war, though in the past, for a fancied interest, we did not hesitate to resort to arms. The threat of war from other Powers would rightly bind us to inaction, yet what we have been deterred by hitherto is not the threat of war, but a mere susceptibility to others' wishes. In 1904 we gave way to French deprecation, and now we fear to spoil our relations with Russia. All that is required is that other interests should be placed in proper proportion to an obvious duty.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAUSE OF THE TROUBLE

The Turk an interloper—A reigning caste—His virtues —His patience—Why we like him—His faults— His government based on barbarous ideas—Inefficiency, corruption, inequality, cruelty.

It may seem to savour of prejudice that, among the peoples with a claim to Macedonia, I have omitted the Turks. Have they no rights there from long possession, or from the fact that they are the present inhabitants? They have neither. So little have we been taught of Eastern history that we realize with difficulty what a new-comer the Turk is. The very houses we live in were, in thousands of cases, built before he came on the scene; and not only houses accounted ancient: many of us even possess dwellings of perishable timber (and wood does not take long to decay) which were already standing when Constantinople fell. The Turk himself admits that he is but a stranger and an interloper in Europe.

It is a saying with him that here he has not come to settle, and to Asia he will return, though, as he came in blood, so in blood will he go out. His prescriptive right to Salonica is no more than it was to Athens or Budapest.

And, again, the Turks are a mere governing caste. True, there are some Moslem villages in Macedonia, but even these are populated as a rule by Slavs converted to Islam, or are new settlements of Circassian colonists. Thus the feeling that the Turks have the natural right of a nation to express itself in government does not apply to Macedonia. If the principle of autonomy can anywhere be applied to the Turk, it would be in Anatolia, for there, in the west of Asia Minor, alone of all the lands of the empire, can a really Turkish population be found.

But even if Macedonia were largely Turkish there would still be need for liberation, for whether his subjects be Christian or Mahomedan, the Turk is unable to govern them. Here is the fundamental trouble. Mahomed's religion still has power to raise the savage tribes of Africa, but whereas Buddhism and Hinduism have done as much and given peace, Mahomedanism has in one respect at least been an affliction to the world, for it instilled

a spirit of conquest, and the power to conquer, into nations unfit to govern.

It cannot be too often insisted that the question before us is one of government, and government alone. We are often told, in opposition to reform, that the Turk is a good fellow. Very true; and if the question at issue were the comparative merit of peasants we have met on our travels, the real Turk would stand high. It is cruel to confuse him with the official classes; he deserves to be carefully distinguished from them. Only let us remember that we are concerned with politics, not with the character of individuals.

The Turk has many virtues. Among his own people he is quiet and industrious, if stupid; truthful and devout, if intolerant; chaste according to Moslem chastity, and sober so long as he is ignorant. Those who, like Sir William Whittall, have searched his mind deeply, find there what they call a type of Irish humour, not, however, visible to the uninitiated. The Turk is lazy, but his love of repose in some shady garden, or in his summer-house over a murmuring stream, is really a charming quality; his conception of 'rahat,' or delight, if somewhat material, is certainly attractive.

And one marked virtue the Turk presents. In the Divine scheme of things the Turk was not meant for a ruler, but when the qualities of mankind come to be summed up in the final unity, one distinct contribution the Turk will have made. His part will be to present the beauty of patience. Not discipline, for when he is excited he loses his head completely. At the butchery at Kuklish in 1905 the Russian officer Captain Cimitiere begged the Turkish officer to forbid his soldiers to kill girls. The officer replied that it would be useless to do so, for they did not know what they were doing. Neither is his quality one of loyalty, for many soldiers desert the army, and even fly to infidel Bulgaria. Nor can he be called obedient, for the unique feature of Turkish administration is that the laws are not obeyed. But watch the tattered soldier standing in the snow to guard the railway-line, by the side of the wretched tent which has been his home for years, and you will see in the round expressionless Osmanli face a quality which not even the stolidest European conscript could show for a week—a patience which, like the deplorable patience of women, appears sublime.

The Turk is commonly contrasted with the

Christian in respect of truth and sobriety, but the richer Turks have ceased to be sober. The cynic dwells on this. The Turk, we are told, persuades himself that Mahomed did not forbid champagne, beer, or spirits, for he had not heard of them. I cannot speak for the champagne, but the wealthier Turks commonly drink beer and brandy. An official now in high position, when he was sent to watch my proceedings on a journey across high mountains, developed a remarkable tendency to faint from fatigue, and could not conceal his delight in the restoring powers of cognac.

What is it in the Turk which appeals so strongly to the English? It is not his chief qualities, for then we should logically find our ideal in people such as the Boers; for the Turk is, like them, distinguished by his hatred of 'progress' and his narrow, puritanical faith. Rather it is the favourable light in which the dominant man appears among a group of apparently weaker people. And the Turk, too, has a tradition of hospitality. The Beys love to overfeed their guests, though in this respect they are behind the Albanians. Not that the Christian is any less hospitable when he has the chance, but in Turkey he seldom has. And in a country where travelling

means a succession of physical discomforts, you naturally remember with most pleasure the man who could relieve your fatigue and hunger.

With the English, too, there is a tradition of friendship towards old comrades in arms. And to all lovers of the picturesque there is a charm in a people, and even in a government, which preserves outwardly the features of the Middle Age. Curiously enough, however, this confidence is misplaced. In this case efficiency is not the alternative to beauty. The advent of progressive government (whether the Turk has given way to the Greek or the Slav) does not, as elsewhere, mean the destruction of the picturesque. The wealthy Turk of the towns does, indeed, build his house with an eye to beauty. The plaster brackets of his deeply-projecting windows delightfully follow Mr. Watts's example in using simulation to heighten architectural effects; but outside the towns the squalor and poverty of the dwellings puts them far below the level of the picturesque, whereas in free countries the houses are built, not only with a more solid air of comfort, but with deeper eaves and shadier verandas.

As a peasant the Turk is attractive, as

peasants almost always are. It is in government that he becomes intolerable. Before the advent of the telegraph, the old school of governors, though ignorant, had often initiative and a certain honesty. The telegraph and the industrious suspicion of Abdul Hamid have introduced in their place a class of office-bred functionaries, with no local responsibility, because, to avoid the chance of trouble from rebellious governors like Ali Pasha, they are so frequently moved. The new school speak French, and wear frock-coats, and have often a certain agreeable capacity for seeming to display education and a knowledge of the West. But compare your acquaintances among the old and the new, and you will find that the unpolished tyrant who can speak no word of any European language is far the best fellow of the two. To all hopes of reform the melancholy answer comes back, that in trying to make the Turk better you only make him worse; he cannot do more than represent the old-world type of the dignified Oriental despot, calmly contemptuous of the unbelieving dogs whose heads he is called by Allah to knock together.

But to speak of the balance of criminality

when debating the merits of Moslem and Christian governments is to throw doubt on all the chief beliefs which have raised the human race—the belief, namely, that all races and religions are equally entitled to justice, order, freedom, to the protection of life and property and family honour; that intellect, art, and material wealth should be developed; that a man should have one wife only; that women have souls equally with men; that children should be revered; that uncorrupt government is good, and violence bad.

As a Mahomedan the Turk entirely denies any such rights or principles. What he might have been if Mahomedanism had not closed his mind before he came in contact with Christianity we may see to-day from the Hungarians, people of the same blood, but among the most progressive of the earth. His sacred books propound a system of government suited to Arabia in the seventh century, and the religious law must be changeless. This must dispel all hopes of the 'young Turks' and 'reform from within.'

Again, the Turk is not even a good Asiatic. What culture he ever had was borrowed from other races, and now he has lost both

borrowed art and native vigour. Disease has decimated the Turkish population, and the splendid ruins of mosque or caravanserai disappearing among the squalid cottages of to-day, prove in how incredibly short a time the morale of the first Turkish conquerors has disappeared. Without foreign aid the empire would have long ago collapsed, and already diplomacy is engaged in finding a substitute for it.

There is a strange class of enthusiasts who contend that while English slums are what they are, and while the Indian government remains autocratic (no one denies that it is just), we have no right to complain of the Sultan. But does not the security of life and honour come before the attainment of nationalist ideals? We hear, too, that the state of Russia is worse than that of Turkey. But the Russian bureaucracy in normal times supplies order and the possibility of a decent life; the Consuls tell us that no comparison can be made between the Armenians in Turkey and the prosperous and cultured Armenians in Russia. Even if this were not so, the comparison would be idle, for the two governments are based on wholly different conceptions, and have wholly different potentiali-

ties. It would be as absurd to say that the government of the Tudors, because it was brutal, was not capable of improvement, as to say that any European government were as hopelessly wrong-headed as that of the Turk. His fatalism, his view of women, his domineering spirit, for ever vitiate his power to rule.

Turkish government is, first, incapable. It is one of the strangest vagaries of the Creation that anyone so disqualified for ruling was made a conqueror and a sovereign. Some of the richest lands of Europe, once the granary of Rome, lie idle for want of the simplest elements of common-sense administration—of roads, of safety, or of regular taxation. 'Where the Turkish hoof treads the grass never grows.' The Turk cannot see even the most obvious course in which his own interests lie. His stupidity may be observed even in our own country. When some particularly monstrous outrage on the part of his troops has been reported, he continues to send to such English newspapers as will publish it the bare statement that the whole report is an undiluted fabrication, incorrigibly blind to the way in which English people regard him.

Needless to say, his government is largely

incapable from laziness; but considering what it is, that is perhaps a virtue. From the first the Turk was compelled to employ the intelligence of his Christian subjects, and therefore to be tolerant to their Churches. Happily the Turk is spasmodic; even the traveller will soon learn that whether he will be allowed to travel can never be foretold. If the Turk were more persistent, the industry which somehow survives in Turkey would fail before the obstacles presented wherever the agents of the government are in force. The greatest danger is where there are roads and rich lands. Prosperity is only found among the remote and barren hills, where the forces of 'law and order' are seldom seen.

The government, again, is corrupt. The stories of which the Turks are so fond make frequent fun of the invariable corruption of prefects and judges. The trader lets himself be robbed and gives up business rather than pay to the judges more than he would gain by a favourable verdict. The Governor extorts the last penny for taxation; but if he spend any of the money upon the roads, he will omit the bridges and devote himself to some isolated track so badly constructed that every carriage is careful to avoid it and drive across the fields.

If anyone is rich he is charged with crime and imprisoned until he pays his ransom. The military commandant demands such heavy baksheesh from the flour-merchant for giving him the army contract that the soldier goes hungry. Corruption is assumed as a matter of course in all the governing classes. Hilmi Pasha is believed to take some thousands a year for favouring the Roumanians, and is known by the Roumanian name of Hilmesco. True or not, the rumour shows the prevalent standard. The best friend I have had among the Turks was a Governor of the old school. He was accounted extraordinarily honest because he did not trouble to demand a bribe from common suitors of moderate means, and could only be bought by the rich. The peasant regards corruption as the chief characteristic of his government. One of the most charming peasants I have ever met was a Turkish yeoman in Bosnia. He praised the Austrian rule, and I asked him, as a good Mahomedan, whether he did not prefer the Sultan's government. He replied in broken German (which he had learned from the Austrian soldiers): 'I love the Sultan, but in his country the great men are always thieves.'

Thirdly, the very theory of the system is

unjust, encouraging violence against the unbeliever. For a description of Turkish rule we might take the Psalmist's vision of a king who should judge the people according unto right, punish the wrong-doer, and hold dear in his sight the blood of the poor. It would only be necessary to insert a negative in every sentence.

There might be hope of reform if the Moslem were not invincibly attached to his ascendancy, to the fundamental principle that as against the Mahomedan the Christians have not equal rights. To him they are *rayah*—*i.e.*, cattle. This claim vitiates all the promises of equality with which Europe has allowed itself to be put off. There is no cause for wonder in this, but only in the fact that, after so long experience, there were Europeans who thought it worth while to extract the promises. The laws of Turkey are on European lines, but in practice the Turk is above the law. Murder, rape, kidnapping, land-grabbing go unpunished day after day. The Turk carries a rifle; the Christian must not even possess a big knife. The educated Christian must do obeisance before the most ignorant of Moslems, and all important offices are closed to him. If a Christian is found dead, other Christians, to

make a show of activity before the European Consuls, are thrown into prison. Murders reported to our Consuls have lately averaged 200 a month. A recent Blue Book touches the spot where this unequal treatment most profoundly exasperates the Christian mind. Vice-consul Captain Townsend reports that the people grow accustomed to having their bread, etc., taken by the soldiers, 'but they can never reconcile themselves to outrages on their women': for these are such as 'turn the coward's blood to flame.'

A corrupt, incapable, and unjust government may be tolerated if it is mild; but Turkish rule is cruel as well. In times of disturbance troops must not be judged too closely, but we can hardly overlook the fact that the Turks deliberately kill women and children. I myself have seen a child disfigured with wounds inflicted with a sword—that is to say, by an officer. And the Turkish treatment of women passes all possibility of description. An English officer during the insurrection of 1903 found a woman still alive who had been partly flayed.

It is more important to judge a government by its conduct in ordinary times. If your views are not known and you can speak

Turkish, a little conversation with the soldiers of your escort will soon dissipate any doubt you may feel as to the truth of sensational rumours. They will tell you how easy it is to steal girls, while to kill villagers and to burn their houses appears to them the only sensible way to deal with a people whose unrest has dragged the Turkish soldier from his Asiatic home.

NOTE.—For details, see Appendix.

CHAPTER V

THE WORK OF THE POWERS

The Concert rejected control and adopted supervision—The sole alteration—Disorder not diminished—The British district—Officers powerless—Troops promote disorder—Examples of outrage—A sacked village—European opinion.

In order to finance their scheme for dealing with Macedonia, the Great Powers have now made a liberal concession to Turkey in permitting an increase of her tariff from 8 to 11 per cent. We must suppose from this fact that the treatment they have applied is one in which they believe. This marks a stage in history, and we should take stock of the situation.

Until three years ago the threats of revolution in Macedonia were not taken seriously. Diplomacy refused to believe that the rebels could give trouble, and the annual warning of a rising in the spring became a subject for mockery. But in 1903 the rebels drove the

Governments of Europe to an effort they had hoped to avoid. The European coach began to move. Some of the horses jibbed, but one was for going full speed; the result was a moderate pace. Two courses presented themselves to the diplomats: the first was to save themselves trouble and maintain their dignity, to snub the busybodies, to keep things outwardly peaceful for a few years more; the second was to grasp the nettle, not to be afraid to admit that the rebellious Macedonians had forced their hands—in fact, to go full pace and get the journey over. This course commended itself to that class of minds which desires not only to maintain the peace of Europe and induce the revolutionary bands to go home, but actually to remove the source of disturbance and to secure the possibility of a decent life for the Macedonian peasant. To this latter class, happily, belonged Lord Lansdowne; but there were Turcophiles in the Cabinet, and though they admitted that reform was wanted, prejudice demanded that the Government should go slowly. So the piecemeal policy was adopted; control of Macedonian affairs was not insisted on, and in its place we were given the policy of supervision. European officers were sent to watch

the proceedings of the gendarmerie, and later on a Commission representing the Powers was established to examine the finances.

It is impossible for anyone who has seen for himself the state of things in Macedonia, and made friends among the agents of the Powers concerned, not to conclude that Lord Lansdowne was right in his proposal for real control by the European Powers. There is neither reform nor sufficient pretence of it to avoid the danger of war. Yet the Turks have profited by the situation to wring from the Powers a great financial concession. They have obtained an increase in the total amount of the tariff of 37 per cent., while the Powers have gained nothing except the confirmation of a scheme of reform already proved ridiculous, and the satisfaction of bolstering up their own pride.

But let us give every possible credit to the scheme. Though the traveller finds it hard to discover arguments in its favour, so few are its defenders, yet there is one tangible fact that apologists for the scheme can point to—viz., that the Turkish officials and troops do actually now receive their pay. This should doubtless result in better conduct to the subject people; they are not compelled to

steal, and they are more likely to accept some discipline from their officers. General De Georgis, though he does not claim that the present pay supports a married man, thinks that gradually, and through a bachelor gendarmerie, discipline will become possible. Even now, as any traveller can see, the gendarmerie are younger, smarter (or it would be truer to say less slovenly), and better trained than three years ago. They consent to leave the towns and patrol the roads. It is even recorded that peasants afflicted with specially savage brigands have requested the authorities to give their village a gendarmerie post. The foreign officers have done the best that, with the power to advise but not to command, can be done. Their gendarmerie schools for non-commissioned officers, established at the capital of each province, have lecturers for teaching medicine, law, and religion. They hope (to use their own charming phrase) to make what was once a curse to the country the sign and symbol of paternal government.

As for the special work of the Financial Commission, it has achieved the dismissal of some minor officials, and it has in hand some money for building roads, at the present time conspicuously absent. Among its members it

is even maintained that, if the government four years ago had been as well supervised as it is to-day, there would be no provocation sufficient to drive the peasants into armed resistance.

As an academic question this may seem debatable, to officials detained in towns; but even among those who have not with their own eyes seen burned houses and bayonetted children the failure of the reforms is not concealed. The evidence of success is far to seek, and the apologist must be content with small things. He is driven to claim that brigands in want of work no longer don gendarmerie uniform and pass as regular members of the force. A European officer when he sends in his report upon progress in his district is reduced to such striking evidence as this: that the gendarmerie posts 'have supplied themselves with lists of the villages in their districts.' I must even count among the triumphs of the Powers the chastened utterance of a Turkish official attached to the Finance Commission, who told me how the tone of Turkish functionaries had been improved by the Commission's influence. 'We Turks,' he said, 'are beginning to see that we have learnt many good things from Europe

without losing our dignity: chemistry and astronomy, for instance: why should we not now learn government also?' One of our Consuls did certainly claim that great improvement had taken place in the conduct of the Turkish beys; but when I asked to what particular feature of the reforms this might be due, he confessed that he thought the most probable influence was fear of the rebel bands! A European who farms in Macedonia thought things slightly improved. 'How?' I said. 'Well, the Turkish murder committees have got the peasants well in hand.'

If success can anywhere be shown, it is in the district of Drama, allotted to the British officers, and always quoted as proof of success. So far, however, from proving the argument, it is Drama that furnishes the final evidence of failure, for here everything favours reform. There are no rebel bands, but a peaceful population. As you ride from Drama to Kavalla, things appear on the very surface increasingly un-Turkish, almost laughably European. You are actually on a tolerable road. Landaus full of tobacco merchants constantly pass. No one carries a rifle. Strangest of all, a fast-trotting mail-cart plies daily; and when you have crossed the low hills where St. Paul passed

on his way to Philippi, you are suddenly in the Italian Riviera. Kavalla lay below me, for all the world like Monte Carlo, with its ancient walls encircling the rocky town, with its villas and tennis-courts, with the yacht of an Austrian Grand Duke, and big European factories.

All these advantages to begin with, and, further, the Turk is specially anxious to humour the English, whom he regards as the most dangerous leaders of the reform movement. Again, he is ready to make concessions because the area concerned is small and no great problems are involved. And, greatest of all favourable conditions, you have the English officer—the best qualified of all human creatures to impress the Turk; the man the Turk still somehow trusts to protect him from the Russian and the Bulgarian; the man he admires for his open-handed generosity and power to dominate over others; the man who makes even Moslems like him and obey him; the strong, genial man to whom in his heart he cringes.

And yet even in Drama you have countless murders and disorders; you have the gendarmerie themselves used for hunting recruits, instead of preventing crime, and attempts

made to deter the officers from even visiting, much less reforming, the prisons.

But it is the rest of Macedonia which matters more, and there disorder is infinitely worse. The general fact which vitiates the whole scheme of the Powers is that the armed force of the country is beyond the control of the foreign officers, and that even if the work of the soldier and the gendarme were perfect, the courts of justice are without even inspection. The plan of the Powers, while supervising the gendarmerie (or rather a part of it), leaves prefect and judge to arrest whom they like, to keep in prison or to torture him, without even inquiry, much less interference, on the part of Europeans.

Not only is the gendarmerie inadequate to cope with misrule, not only are Europeans debarred from all investigation into the conduct of the police in towns, but the rural gendarmes, to whom the supervision is limited, are specifically misused. They are largely employed in tax-collecting—that is, they are lent to those who have bought the tithe for more than it ought legally to produce, in order to help them rob the peasants. There are not enough left for patrolling the roads. They were lately engaged in collecting re-

servists, and at one lonely inn at which I dismounted there were twelve such prisoners, guarded by seven gendarmes.

Equally intolerable is the encroachment by the army upon the proper duties of the gendarmerie. Soldiers are not supposed to do duty among the peasants except as assistants to the gendarmerie, but in point of fact they are used to overawe the people. They are stationed in innumerable villages, nominally to control the rebel bands. How far they are likely to succeed may be judged from the fact that most of them, being Turks from Asia Minor, are unable to understand the languages of Macedonia. Hilmi Pacha was lately asked how it was that the troops so seldom caught the rebels. 'The bands,' he replied 'work by night, and the troops by day; hence it is that they seldom meet.' The business they are really sent to perform they do most efficiently: they go from house to house demanding hidden rifles, and if neither money nor rifles are forthcoming, they beat and bully the people.

Europe was put off in February, 1903, by the talk of Christians being enrolled in the gendarmerie. A recent instance may suffice to show the value of this reform. Occasion-

ally, though rarely, a Christian gendarme is allowed a rifle. As a protest against this, one of these privileged Christians was lately attacked by a Turkish peasant in the street. To give the alarm and save his life the gendarme fired his rifle into the air. To set an example to Christians in general, he was sent to prison for three months.

But the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Defects of organization matter nothing if the peasant's life and his daughter's honour are secured. To test the success of the Powers and their scheme, we have only to ask whether outrages have ceased. In Turkey there are no statistics worth reading, and the only evidence we can trust is to be found in the reports of Consuls and gendarmerie officers, or in the evidence of our own eyes. The chances are so remote that a traveller among the 5,000 villages of Macedonia will come upon the worst outrages, that incidents within his own experience are the strongest proof that worse things prevail. I discard the innumerable details of bloodshed and rape with which every European resident is familiar, and limit myself to those that can be strictly verified.

Even in the district of the French officers, which is comparatively peaceful, some forty

murders are reported to their energetic head, Colonel Verrand, every month. A few days before my last visit to Uskub a murder occurred in the open market of the city, which attracted considerable comment—not because murder is rare, but by its picturesque simplicity. A Bulgarian merchant had ordered a pair of boots from a Turkish bootmaker; when the boots arrived they did not fit, so the Bulgarian called upon the bootmaker, who was sitting at the open front of his shop in the bazaar, and complained that the boots must be altered. The Turk replied by picking up his heavy chopper and cleaving the skull of his customer. By way of showing administrative activity, two other Bulgarians were arrested for the murder, but the Turk carries on his business in peace.

Among the incidents recently reported by General De Georgis was a much more melancholy story. Twelve young girls, leaving school together, were set upon and the whole party killed.

The ruffians in another district, Gostivar, are of a more attractive breed. A noted brigand had lately become an intolerable nuisance to the place, and the inhabitants were driven to conclude that even a post of

gendarmerie would be a smaller infliction. They petitioned the Governor, who responded with a peremptory demand to the brigand that he should change his trade. The brigand replied that he was very ready to do so, but only on one condition—namely, that he should be appointed Prefect of Gostivar.

A government must be judged by its power to keep unruly subjects in order. What, then, shall we say to an administration which commits crimes itself? If every murderer were efficiently caught by the gendarmerie, there would still be little public order if he were at once let go by the authorities and innocent people thrown into prison. One of the greatest absurdities of the so-called reforms is that the European officers have no control of the gaols. At Uskub a new prison has been built, but the untried prisoners, many of them arrested months before their case comes on for trial, are kept underground in even worse quarters than the convicted criminals. Here the innocent and the guilty are crammed together. In some of the prisons there is not even room to lie down at night, and the dead are taken out daily. Yet so great are the difficulties put in the way of the foreign officers that no regular visitation of the prisons by them takes place at all.

The presence of Europeans, however, has had some effect; they may congratulate themselves on having compelled the Turks to develop a new administrative art—namely, the manufacture of false evidence. The French officers had occasion to notice a particularly fine example of this species of Turkish humour. Some young Christians, of more means than their neighbours, in a specially peaceful district near the coast of Macedonia, unwarily asked permission to go out quail-shooting. While enjoying themselves on the plain, some common soldiers came upon them, took their guns from them, and gave them a sound thrashing, though they produced the permit of the Governor to go out shooting. To the subtle humour of the Governor's mind this appeared an opportunity not to be lost, either to break the pride of the Christians or to extort baksheesh for himself; but as the prisoners held his own permit, some other pretext must be found for charging them with a crime. Fortunately for the Governor, at the same time a corpse was found in the woods. It mattered little that the spot was in a remote ravine many miles from the plain where the men had been shooting quails, or that the cause of death was a large bullet obviously not fired from

a shot-gun. These incongruities only added to the fun of flouting the European supervisors, and the unfortunate sportsmen remained in prison.

When in course of time these humorous administrators have been relegated to their proper place, it will no doubt require considerable firmness to suppress brigandage, at present the only trade encouraged by the authorities. It will need a stern régime, determined to suppress the carrying of arms and introduce justice, and we cannot expect these things from a race whose main conception of government is the right of one race alone to protection. We might, however, not unreasonably demand that, if we leave the Turks in control and provide the money for paying their troops, the troops themselves shall abstain from murder on a large scale. So early as 1904 we had, indeed, begun to hope that serious outrages by the troops had become rare. Parliament was informed that the slaughter in February, 1905, at the village of Kuklish, was quite an exception. The Financial Commission, which has since been established, had, one hoped, at all events put an end to such major enormities. What, then, must be our despair when we learn from the

chief European officer himself that nine months after the Financial Commission has been established a large party of Turkish regular troops, not without authority from its officers, marched out for a deliberate looting expedition against a village near Vodena named Rodevo. Nearing the village in the early dawn, they caught three peasants in the fields, tied their hands together, and ordered them to lead the way to the village. In the dusk the inhabitants thought that a band of brigands were attacking the village, and rushed out of their houses. The soldiers fired upon them, and did not leave the village until ten people had been killed and a number of houses burnt to the ground.

Murders and massacres are not committed in the presence of tourists with the escort of cavalry which is inflicted upon them. Even the intelligence of a Turk is equal to the task of postponing outrages till the foreigner has passed. But it is evident, even as one rides through the country, that disorder, far from being suppressed, has even increased in the last few years. Five years ago it was not usual to carry a rifle in Macedonia; now every Turkish landlord rides with his Martini across his saddle. At one of the inns where we

stopped for lunch the walls were dotted over with bullet marks. At the once wealthy town of Krushevo, where the houses destroyed three years ago are still for the most part melancholy ruins, we were taken to see a wounded man. He was a man of means, with a fine house. He had been working in his beautiful garden, which overhangs a little stream, when a bullet from a window opposite laid him low. The bullet mark upon the stone showed where he had been standing, close to his fig-tree. An act, you say, of ordinary private feud; but these things happen day after day and the murderer goes free.

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When we arrived at Monastir the Inspector-General had issued orders that no travellers were to be allowed outside the town. It was not convenient that Europe should hear any more of villagers still starving among the ruins of their homes. In case the tourist should claim the privilege of free travel demanded by his passport, and venture to ride through the country without an escort, stringent orders had been issued that any man who supplied us with horses would do so at his peril. It was not impossible, however, to find horses over whose owner the Turk had no control,

and we rode out to see for ourselves a village which had been sacked three days before, an incident typical of the present state of things. Finding we had started, the authorities sent an escort after us, for if any foreigner is taken by brigands, the Turk has to pay.

The large village of Smilevo lies at the head of a long steep valley, where three beautifully-wooded coombs come down from the higher mountains to form a little river. Most of the houses had been burnt by the Turks as punishment for the insurrection of 1903, but a great number had been well rebuilt, for the men of Smilevo are noted builders. They are employed in many parts of Macedonia, returning for the winter to Smilevo, which before the insurrection was a prosperous village of 2,000 souls.

On Sunday, September 9, at five o'clock we were watching a magnificent sunset from the hill above Prilep, a few miles from Smilevo. Little did we imagine what devilries were proceeding so near. At that moment the village found itself surrounded by armed men. The band consisted of Turks and of Greeks, who, coming from Greece, had no knowledge of the district, but who are ready enough to take advantage of Turkish protection and

wipe out old scores against the Bulgarians. A number of the villagers who were in the inn hurriedly consulted what to do. On the chance of obtaining mercy they sent a deputation to the leader of the band on the slope above the village, carrying water-melons for him and his men. The chief replied to their prayers: 'I do not want water-melons; I want blood.' There was no time for the villagers to organize resistance. The bandsmen were already plundering houses and shooting at random those they found in them. It was a wild and horrible medley that passed that beautiful Sunday evening, for the band included Turks from neighbouring villages, whose aim was to loot, while the object of the leaders was to terrorize and kill. Among the wounded, whom we afterwards saw, was a young married woman dreadfully hacked about the head; her fingers also were lacerated. When she saw the band she ran to call the cattle. The bandits, seeing that she was wearing the coins and rings that form the dowry of the richer peasants, began to tear the rings from her fingers. As a last hope she offered them money, and having, fortunately, £8 in her pocket, she saved her life. Another woman escaped by a ruse. Her husband was away, and hoping to frighten the

bandsmen, whom she saw from the window, she turned towards an inner room and called out, 'Bring the gun,' upon which the ruffians passed on to find easier prey. In some houses men, women, and children too, must have resisted frantically. There were at least thirty bullet marks on the wall of one room and others on the floor, and there was blood upon a heavy wooden block where someone had been killed with an axe used for chopping firewood. Ten houses were set on fire, and the band did not leave until nine men and women were dead, and four small children.

Two days after, the Russian and Austrian Consuls visited the place, and found a child of nine with five wounds still alive. Six other wounded were carried on ponies some eight hours' journey to Monastir, where, for want of a hospital, they were laid in the little houses of Bulgarian artisans.

As we walked through the village a fine young man with a peculiarly English type of face pointed to the still smouldering remains of what had been a large stone house, and said: 'Here was my shop and my home; what am I to do now?' We were accompanied by a number of villagers and by the Turkish Prefect of the neighbouring town, who had come

over to collect information. He complained that the villagers were leaving the place in unnecessary fear. He had tried in vain to persuade them that the Government promised complete protection, and he was much aggrieved that they would not listen. Some twenty soldiers were also in the place. They belonged to the garrison situated on the hills above, where, as usual, the troops had sat fast until the killing was finished. We asked the Prefect if there was a church. He replied that there was, though it had been slightly damaged in the insurrection. We insisted on seeing it, and found the remains of a very large stone church, completely gutted from end to end. The dead were already buried in the church-yard. The latest grave made that day appeared so curiously small that we asked how old the child had been. We learnt that it was the body of a man, but burnt to a small cinder. Numbers of villagers had already left the village, and others were leaving. As we rode along we met a party consisting of an elderly woman and her four daughters. In front of them a man led two donkeys, almost invisible under an immense load of household utensils. On one side was a sack containing a large pig, on the other were mattresses and

cooking-pans, while the women carried sieves and weaving utensils and bundles of live chickens tied together by the legs. We asked why these people were leaving the village by the circuitous route through the mountains, and found the reason to be that the only road down the valley from Smilevo lay through the Turkish village, from which had come the murderers themselves. We rested ourselves and our horses in this very village, hospitably entertained with water-melon and junket by one of the prosperous Turks of the place. The only ornaments on the walls of his room were a Martini rifle and a cartridge-belt; most of the cartridge-holders in the belt were empty.

We saw the surviving wounded at Monastir. The least severely injured was a handsome young man, who lay in a little veranda while his mother and his fiancée, who had also been slightly wounded, fanned the flies away from his face. His hand had been shot through and mortification was beginning. A Bulgarian doctor who, after endless delay, had obtained permission to practise at Monastir, was trying to persuade the mother to allow of amputation, but she could not bear to think of her good-looking son without an arm. Next morning,

when the gangrene had spread to the elbow, she yielded; but the operation could not take place without the appliances in the Turkish hospital, and the hospital director would not admit the boy without an order from the Governor. It was already more than doubtful whether mortification had not gone too far. Twenty-four hours were lost in obtaining the order. Within a few days all our wounded friends, except three, were dead.

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The greatest evil of the situation is, perhaps, that the mind of Europe should know what is going on and be content to think that these things may be left to continue. The least is probably the ignominious position to which the able representatives of the Powers are obliged to submit, yet this is a matter of no small importance. When the scheme of reforms was accepted by the Turks they expected that the Powers meant business; but Hilmi Pasha is a really clever man, and as soon as the Powers showed themselves willing to accept a small rebuff he was quick to follow up the advantage. He has now got the Financial Commission well in hand, as the following story, entirely believed among European residents, will adequately indicate:

When the Pasha moved his Court from Salonica to Monastir for the summer season, he invited the Financial Commission to join him in his special train. But before they reached the station the astute Oriental had started on his journey. The Commissioners therefore did not put in an appearance when their chairman made his formal entry into Monastir. Important business was put through before they could arrive, and a staggering blow had been dealt at their prestige. Can we wonder if Pan-Islamism grows?

* * * * *

European diplomacy set out two years ago, primarily, no doubt, to prevent war, but professedly to establish order. Has it succeeded? The opinion of Europeans on the spot is emphatic on this point. One expected to find them admitting that improvement was not complete. One was not prepared for the assertion, which is everywhere made, that, though the Turkish official and soldier have profited, because they are paid, the peasants, for whom reform was intended, are actually worse off than before. And this astonishing statement they support by the fact that taxation is far higher and the frequency of outrage is distinctly greater. If one class of danger to

the peasant is diminished, another class is increased. It was always doubtful for the Macedonian Christian, when he went to his work in the fields, whether he would come back to find his property gone or his wife's honour lost; but now it is doubtful whether he and they will not have their throats cut while they are gathering in the crops. And yet, with all this horrid sacrifice, not even the selfish aim of Europe is obtained, for a Turco-Bulgarian war, with all the danger which it involves for the Great Powers, is more likely than ever.

To diplomats in comfortable quarters the 'right of supervision' seems something that should satisfy the demands of Parliaments and peoples. If they had seen with their own eyes what is happening in the villages to-day, they would not think extravagant the conclusion expressed by one of the leading European officers: 'C'est une comédie dégoûtante.'

CHAPTER VI

THE RIGHT PLAN

European control essential—Different forms of it—Annexation—Autonomy—Control by the Concert—Each would bring peace—The practical problem—A definite proposal.

ONE wonders whether anyone ever believed that the Turk would so alter his habits as to conform to Western ideas. It is a strange illustration of the ways of diplomacy that not only after the Crimean War and the great crisis of 1878, but also in 1903 and 1905, the promise of self-reform has been put forward to allay European public feeling. It is the offer of a stone in place of bread, and were it not justified by the ignorance of the public, it would be insulting to their intelligence.

In 1856 the Sublime Porte was crafty enough to issue a formal declaration embodying the promise of so-called rights to the Christian populations. This was known as the Hatti Humayum. As a matter of course, it remained

a dead-letter, because, as every diplomat knows, the Mahomedan cannot contravene the central idea on which his position is based—viz., his ascendancy over the unbeliever. If the Sultan were to break this sacred law he would not be obeyed; he would be assassinated by his own people if he threw away their essential privilege, unless compelled to do so by stronger Powers. In that case the 'Sunna' commands him to yield, 'lest damage ensue to Islam.' At different periods, seeing that the game was up, he has desired such coercion in order to make concession possible, and has even asked for it. But without coercion and European control, reform is in the nature of things impossible.

For the same reason the scheme of reform which Lord Salisbury achieved in 1896 has also proved a farce. It provided for Christian Assistant-Governors, who should act as a check upon the Turkish Governors with whom they sat. No one not wholly ignorant of the facts believed for a moment that these men, being Turkish subjects, would exercise a vestige of influence against Turkish claims, and they soon acquired the name of 'Evetji'—that is to say, 'Yes-Men,' because their judgment has never been known to differ from that of their chiefs.

Thus Mr. Gladstone spoke only the words

of common-sense when he said, speaking of the Turkish governing classes: 'Bag and baggage, the Turk must go.' What, then, is the right alternative to his rule? The answer is simple. Any plan is right which removes the supreme Turkish authority. Every system which has embodied this condition has proved successful, from despotism in Egypt and Bosnia to the excessive democracy of Greece. The only practical question is as to what plan is most easily achieved. Shall it be occupation by the great empires, control by the Concert, self-government, or partition among the small States?

The first has brought peace to Bosnia and Egypt, and parts of Turkey which are not fit for self-rule will eventually share the fate of those provinces. Such are Mesopotamia, Tripoli, Kurdestan, and perhaps Palestine.

Control by the Concert embodies the ideal for such international cities as Constantinople, and possibly Salonica—conceivably, also, for Armenia; but when applied to territories like Crete and Eastern Roumelia, the Powers have found it difficult to co-operate, and unless the country occupied can ultimately govern itself they are loath to run the risk of a failure.

Happily, self-government is feasible in all

European Turkey. Its populations have proved themselves fit to rule, and an autonomy which has succeeded so well in Hungary, Roumania, Servia, Greece, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, would provide no less a feasible solution for Albania and Macedonia.

Annexation by a neighbouring small State was the fortunate fate of Thessaly, and is the obvious destiny for Old Servia and Epirus.

Reviewing these four methods in turn, the province under discussion here, so far from offering an insoluble problem, might be dealt with by any one of them; but its people would bitterly resent the first—namely, absorption in a rgeat empire. Under this head we may include the so-called dual control by Russia and Austria, which, though professing to introduce reform, meant in fact the preservation of chaos until the convenient day should arrive for partition between those Powers.

The plan professedly adopted in principle by the Great Powers is that of control by the Concert, and for this reason it finds widespread support among the friends of freedom throughout Europe. It avoids the difficult question of the ultimate fate of Macedonia, reserving the choice between autonomy and partition to a later day. It aims at removing, as in the

Lebanon, the direct rule of the Sultan by establishing a Government responsible to the Powers. The Powers have already advanced some distance along this road. Their military officers are established all over the country, and their Commissioners of Finance in the capital; the machinery of control is ready, and needs only the fuel of executive power to make it effective. In this direction lies the best hope of avoiding war. Macedonia, if not a racial unity, is a geographical entity, with one of the greatest of natural seaports for its centre. It is only by imposing impartial and powerful rule from above that the minorities in the country—Greeks, Serbs, Turks, Roumanians, Albanians—can be protected from injustice. If the control is established judiciously, and preserves a nominal Turkish sovereignty, as in Egypt, even the Turk will come to see in time that this method is the only one that will save his face. The alternative — Bulgarian conquest—would be much more distasteful to each minority than the impartial rule of the Powers. Thus resistance to reform on the part of the Turks is suicidal. The Turkish landlords in Macedonia know this, and would welcome a just control, for they suffer from disorder. It is the officials who obstruct the

way, because they would lose the profits of corruption.

It must not be forgotten that control was within an ace of being established. In 1903 Lord Lansdowne proposed it in the form of a Christian Governor. In 1905 he suggested a Commission representing the Powers, and had it not been for the Russo-Japanese war, and the unwillingness of France to go beyond the wishes of her Russian ally, it would then have been achieved, on the proposal of England, France and Italy. The form which a practicable control would take is best expressed in Lord Lansdowne's own words: 'The Commission would be given administrative and executive powers, and would, in the first instance, be instructed to frame without delay schemes for the effective control of the administration of finance and justice.' The kernel lies in the word 'executive.'

In the Lebanon the very same judicial institutions that fail so completely under the Sultan work with perfect smoothness under a Governor controlled by the Powers.

This system of control would bring peace. Once the Sultan has accepted the reglement giving power to the Commissioners, recalcitrant Governors and corrupt judges will be

dismissed; the Sultan's telegraphic orders, which at present vitiate even the mildest reforms of the Inspector-General, will cease to be regarded, and the first attempt to disobey orders will be referred to the ambassadors and become a diplomatic question; the Sultan must choose between submission and renewed coercion. Faced with such a dilemma, the Turk has always given way; nor would he even be in a position to execute his threat that before leaving Macedonia he will drench it in blood, because even his limited intelligence can see that by so doing he would lose Albania and the islands as well.

The European Commission, already established at Salonica, will in this event find itself master of the situation, and will proceed to appoint a certain number of Europeans to sit with the Turkish officials, nominally advising, but really controlling, them after the Egyptian model. Crime will then for the first time be punished, and the innocent will be acquitted. With the roads improved and security provided, every market in the country will begin to grow. The Turkish Bey, reluctant to put away his rifle and give up the right of shooting his neighbour, will accept the inevitable when he finds that along with

these humiliations he is able to visit his remotest farms and to impose larger rents. The Christian peasant will find that he can till the fields in peace, and bring up his family in honour.

There are those who argue that government will be made impossible by the rebel bands, but the rebels will find their employment gone. The villagers are ready enough to support them now, because they offer some protection from the Turks, and help to relieve them from intolerable insults; but when these things are changed the villager will not give them his last loaf, as he often does now, for they will no longer be doing anything to improve his situation. Moreover, the revolutionary committee referred to—*i.e.*, the Bulgarian—is a democratic organization, controlled by the peasants, who elect its leaders. The ordinary outlets for the vigour of an active man in commerce and the professions, till now artificially closed, will prove a sufficient attraction to men who have often been driven to brigandage for want of any equally profitable trade. It is safe to prophesy that, before the Powers have provided order for a month, the most ruffianly of the rebel bands will have been dispersed.

The ultimate fate of Macedonia need not yet be decided. Autonomy upon the Swiss system of cantons would meet its ethnological needs, and the cause of 'Macedonia for the Macedonians' would doubtless become more and more popular.

But unhappily the Concert has been regulated by the pace of its slowest members, and control has not yet been demanded. There is but one practical question for the disinterested Governments of Europe. It is not, What Government would pacify the Macedonians? nor is it, How can the Turks be compelled to accept it? It is, How shall we persuade other Powers to act with us in demanding authority for the Commission already established, so that we may not have the odium of acting alone? Complete unity is not required. In the historic precedent of 1880, when Mr. Gladstone proposed to enforce the cession of Thessaly, two Powers alone were willing to join with us; it was only essential that the other Powers should not actively obstruct us. The situation is in one respect more favourable to-day, for the question is already on the European table; in 1880 there was no crisis to bring it forward.

A source of alarm, however, has been found

in the rise of Pan-Islamic feeling in Egypt and India, and it is no doubt important to inquire whether, if it is not an artificial agitation fanned by Abdul Hamid, this is better met by concession or by firm resistance. If the latter course is preferred by Sir Edward Grey, as would appear from his treatment of the Tabah question, then the same principle will equally apply to other quarrels with Turkey. It is interesting that the great Ambassador Sir William White wrote, so long ago as 1885, 'We cannot shape our course in Europe by purely Asiatic considerations.' The Moslems are hardly anywhere a majority in India, and they are profoundly divided, for the Shiahs, probably half of the Indian Mahomedans, entirely reject the Sultan's claim to the khalifate. Lord Salisbury did not hesitate to offend the supporters of Abdul Hamid.

What means of pressure upon other Governments a Foreign Minister may possess the public can never tell, for foreign affairs are kept surrounded with mystery, but that particular levers and obligations can be used as a means of persuasion is obvious. The diplomatic records of coercion, from 1880 to 1905, are sufficient to show this; nor are other conditions absent which must be met before the

Foreign Office can take action. There must be first the indication of support from public opinion and from the House of Commons. The former has never been wanting since 1902, and, whereas Lord Lansdowne was willing to act without the sympathy of either the Cabinet or the House, Sir Edward Grey is supplied with both. A large section in the House of Commons has indicated not only its readiness for active measures, but its disappointment that they have not been taken. Lord Lansdowne, with all his disadvantages, practically forced the hands of the unwilling empires; and it is clear that throughout the vast field of interests and counter-interests which constitute the foreign relations of Great Britain there is no lack of material for striking a bargain with the indifferent Powers.

Of some such materials it is no doubt best not to speak in print, but of others it is desirable that the public should form an opinion; such is the suggestion made by the greatest of international lawyers—Professor Westlake. It is that Great Britain should intimate to the Powers that, in the event of her proposal for control in Macedonia being declined, she will refuse to join in any further effort of the reactionary Powers to prevent

war between Turkey and Bulgaria. Such a refusal is doubtless in contemplation, but the Eastern empires have learnt to rely on the assistance of England in preserving the *status quo*, assistance which was only justified while these Powers promised to support reform.

Professor Westlake further insists that, should the Powers still be unwilling to join us, and should war break out, the urgency of the problem and our special responsibility impose on us the duty of assisting Bulgaria with the resources which our overwhelming sea power gives us.

To allow such a disturbance of territorial boundaries to take place without their participation would doubtless appear to the reactionary Powers a distasteful alternative to the policy of supporting control by the Concert.

If it be answered that the fear of war breaking out may still prove inadequate to move the Concert, we must remember that Macedonia does not, like Armenia, depend on the Concert for its liberation. There are the armies of the small States at hand prepared, not only to occupy the country, but to take over its government, and able to deal with the Turkish army if it is not reinforced from Asia. The Turks have no navy, and are extremely vulner-

able by sea. The expulsion of the Turks is thus within reach of any naval Power which is ready to support the small States. Italy, for instance, could occupy custom-houses, under cover of naval guns, and prevent troopships from proceeding to Macedonia or to Arabia, thus paralyzing Turkey without the need of landing armies. Those of the small States would act by land.

This policy would be fittingly accompanied by a self-denying ordinance, such as was made by England and France on the eve of the Crimean War, a public declaration that on no account would they turn the war to their private advantage.

The naval aid suggested would be made conditional on co-operation among the small States as to their spheres of influence, and the great Power in question would be in a position to prevent any possible friction between them by withdrawing assistance if the frontier approved by her were transgressed.

The knowledge that this policy might be carried out would be an incentive to the interested Powers to join in concerted action.

But suppose that even now they refuse to prevent war by taking part in control. Then it is still doubtful whether war will follow, for

the Turkish army would be faced with as complete isolation in Macedonia as it was in Crete, where the command of Admiral Noel to the Ottoman troops to march on board the transport and leave the country was enough to cut the knot which had been called insoluble.

Imagine, however, the worst to happen and war to break out. Is that worse than the present situation? The salient facts to-day are these: Firstly, that the disorder now prevailing is in effect a war, and of a kind even more terrible than formal hostilities, for it involves not so much the contest of armed men as the killing of defenceless women and children. Secondly, war is inevitable in any case, since diplomacy despairs of establishing control without it. This being so, it is quite inconceivable that Macedonia, while the powerful army of her kinsmen in Bulgaria is encouraged by every military observer to believe that it can beat the Turks, will be permanently left unavenged. The Powers, in effect, expect a war, and though they have not the vigour to prevent it, they dread the danger of its spreading into Europe. The tradition of diplomacy deprecates any but negative movements, yet it was inaction, not action, that

caused the Russo-Turkish War, and the Power which shall undertake the control of the inevitable change will have secured Europe not only from the extreme difficulty which would follow a possible victory of the Turks, but also from the danger of a war in Europe which would follow if the Powers found themselves, unprepared, face to face with a Turco-Bulgarian conflict.

The course of events may be predicted. If the Sultan did not surrender to the inevitable, the only railway which connects the capital with Macedonia could be easily destroyed by Bulgarian dynamite at one of the many bridges and tunnels in the narrow defile near Drama, and, with transports prevented from leaving the Dardanelles, the Turkish army of the West would be cut off. Relieved of this danger, the Bulgarian army, as most military experts hold, would reach Constantinople. But long before this the occupation of Smyrna or Gallipoli would have paralyzed Turkey. It is enough to show that she cannot resist. In actual fact, she will save herself from collapse by appealing to the Concert. A conference of the Powers will be called, and the scandal, which Lord Lansdowne called a menace to European peace, will disappear.

The result of such intervention—if the Powers did not step in, as in Crete, and assume control—would be an arrangement of spheres of influence among the small States. This is no matter for alarm. It would mean that we had arrived at a permanent disposal of the problem. There is no distinct homogeneous race in Macedonia entitled to political expression, no real entity to justify the creation of a new Government and a new royal Court, while the modern desire for centralization points to the using of existing Governments and the avoidance of any fresh addition to the troublesome company of small powers.

The bare possibility that the small powers would be actually paralyzed by their differences, or that the pressure which certain great empires could bring upon them would be adequate to prevent hostilities, does not vitiate the policy. In that event the situation would be left unchanged. Macedonia would not be in a worse plight than before, for the fear that a joint action might at any time be arranged would act as a constant incentive to the Powers to favour reform and to the Turks to accept it.

In practice, no such action is required. What, then, is suggested if certain Powers will not join in enforcing control by the

Concert? It is that England should reiterate definitely the proposal made by Lord Lansdowne in 1905 for the establishment of a Commission in Macedonia representing the Powers and having administrative and executive authority, and should undertake to carry out, as a mandatory of the Powers, the necessary naval action. This proposal should be accompanied by an intimation that under no circumstances will England take part in preventing attack by the small powers upon Turkey for the liberation of Macedonia. To any such means as may be required to bring the question publicly before the Concert —it may be a special conference or a diplomatic mission — the government will find universal support in this country. Publicity itself is a potent weapon, in that the Eastern Powers are unwilling to appear as the avowed enemies of reform for peoples kindred to their own. And it is a weapon unused since 1905.

Few would deny that, if Macedonia can be liberated without either landing an army or the risk of a European war, our obligation does extend beyond making suggestions to the Concert. If it is a matter of vigorous diplomacy and movements of the fleet alone, it

is nowhere argued that we should refuse any trouble and expense that can effect reform.

It is at running the risk of war that we draw the line, and rightly draw it. Unfortunately, the fear of war is often vaguely employed to excuse ourselves from action which, though troublesome, is perfectly safe. The line would, in reality, be clearly drawn at the point where the striking power of the British forces runs a danger of diminution, or where any great Power threatens to regard our coercion of Turkey as a hostile act.

With regard to the first, the mere fact that the British fleet might sail for Smyrna was in 1880 sufficient to obtain submission, and the withdrawal of the Turkish army and government from Thessaly. At the worst, as during the demonstration of 1905, it is a matter of landing small parties to occupy custom-houses under cover of the fleet. Thus the action contemplated offers no such opportunity for an enemy to take advantage of our embarrassment as is sometimes thoughtlessly urged.

Nor should we be flying in the face of Austrian designs, for Austria has declared, in December, 1906, for a solution on lines of national autonomy if the *status quo* is disturbed.

But, on the other hand, if any Power should threaten hostile resistance to action, our course is clear. Supposing this monstrous event to come about—that European Powers should make war for the continuance of massacre—then we should be free to reply, as Mr. Gladstone suggested in 1896: 'We cast upon you who are willing to undertake it the responsibility of giving countenance to these detestable proceedings. We wash our hands of them. We will do what was done by France in 1840, without loss of honour retaining our own judgment and our right of enforcing that judgment when we see our way to it. But we will not plunge Europe into war, and will leave to those who bring about this state of things the responsibility which belongs to them. . . . I declare,' he continued, 'in my judgment it would be far better even to run the risk, which I believe is no risk at all, of recession, than to continue the present state of things, in which we become ministers and cooperators with the Sultan, ensuring his immunity and encouraging him to continue his monstrous acts.'

To-day there is no desire, as of old, to support Turkey, and we cannot complain even of unwillingness on the part of our

Government to join other Powers in advocating reform; but neither can we accept the statement that everything possible has been done. The Concert undoubtedly needs a leader. Is England called upon to lead? Without question, we are bound to claim, she is. Other Powers are hampered by their positions, and England is responsible before all others for the scandal of Macedonia. We must claim, too, that such is the magnitude of this scandal that, when we have to choose between our desire, on the one hand, to be polite to our friends, or even to achieve an advantageous entente, and our desire, on the other hand, to fulfil our obligations, there is no question which should prevail.

The Bulgarian Prime Minister during a recent conversation was urging the difficulty of restraining his country from war with Turkey, and complaining of the conduct of the Powers. When I asked what he would do himself if he were English Foreign Minister, I hardly expected the restraint and accuracy of his reply. 'Well,' he said, 'I should push harder.'

CHAPTER VII

THE REAL QUESTION

Magnitude of the evil—British responsibility—Political ethics—Waste of wealth—The use of force—The battle of rival ideals—Practical aspects—Political action for interest or duty—The need of public attention—What we can do.

THIS volume has been wholly a failure if it has not suggested to the reader that, as once before to the apostle, there comes from Macedonia an appeal which cannot be neglected. It is a call to bring to an end what is perhaps the greatest of the chronic scandals which still disgrace the human family. It is not a mere matter of relieving pain, as in the case of some famine or earthquake; it is a matter of making the barest necessities of decent life, even family morality itself, possible to great populations, and those, too, not ignorant or savage, but of the type which has made civilization.

Neither does it affect a limited number only. The historic monster of British slavery itself

affected directly but 700,000 souls. Those whom Turkish rule degrades in body and in mind are many millions.

Nor is it a call for sympathy such as comes to us from sufferers in Russia, for over them we have no control. It is not in our power to relieve them, while the misery of Macedonia is our own creation, and it rests with us to bring it to an end.

Macedonia raises thoughts of a nobler cause than the relief of suffering alone, for it recalls no less a matter than that of reviving once more the comity of nations. Cross Europe from end to end, and though you pass through commercial barriers and hostile armies, you see in every land a type of social order which is common to all. It is a type found only in Europe and her daughter States. It is a type which makes Europe, though so small a corner of the world that you can traverse it in three days, foremost of all the continents. The spirit and the source of it are everywhere the same. Who that gives thought to these things can fail to lament the fall that has taken place from the ideal of Charlemagne, from the holy Roman Empire, with its theory of a united Christendom, to the modern make-shift of the 'balance of power'? We must

cherish the germ of unity contained not only in the Hague Conference, but in every common action. In spite of all the rivalries aroused, Macedonia compels the Powers to work together, and to peoples whose officers co-operate in the same police force the thought of war seems increasingly absurd; the very perplexities of the task may be but the birth throes of a new unity.

Again, to know of ghastly deeds and to be conscious of the power to prevent them, and yet to sit still, must relax all morality. Here is a fatal danger to Europe. Something corresponding to the need must be done.

Without a disinterested policy abroad our own prosperity has no justification. When the trade-union and the labour member show themselves foremost in urging a humane policy, they are displaying that righteous instinct that dwells in the mind not corrupted by luxury. But they are doing more than this: they are true to the fundamental law that, if they wish to attract sympathetic feeling for their own cause, they must show the same feeling for the cause of others.

There is a modern tendency to keep the eyes fixed on the material aspect of empire, and for those who habitually take a bird's-eye

view of the world it is difficult to realize vividly the outlook of the dwellers on a single spot. The spread of education and the confusion of subjects for thought, these seem to have produced a decay of feeling. We are filled with doubts, and the public mind has no such vigour as it displayed for the liberation of the British slave or for Italian freedom. This decay must be arrested, and the fame of England cherished—the

'England that rejoiced to see
Grecia unbound, Italia one and free.'

The action of Canning and Lord John Russell recognised no distinction between material and moral interests. It was based on the view that the British were a liberty-loving race, and would not stand unmoved when freedom was at stake.

Leaving humanity aside, what waste of wealth and loss of historic treasure remains in Turkey to redeem! The interests of commerce demand that lands by nature wealthy, fields that were once the world's granary, and mines which were flourishing in Roman days, should not lie idle at our very door. Germany indeed is not inactive, and is growing richer by working the neglected

field; but Great Britain, filled with thoughts of empire over-seas, passes it by in favour of far poorer lands.

Again, what the archæologist may gain when order arrives in Turkey Dr. Evans has shown by the wealth of his discoveries in Crete. Turkey is filled with neglected stores of similar riches, and history must remain in needless darkness while the gloom of the Sultan's palace is allowed to conceal the famous library of the Byzantine Emperors.

Worst of all, what waste is perpetrated here of vigorous peoples, suddenly checked in their growth at the very moment that they were entering, with the rest of Europe, on a period of modern development. Like a plant placed in the dark, they remain stifled and arrested at the level of medieval life. Can anything be more tragic than that, when mankind through the piled-up efforts of countless generations has attained to some habits of goodwill, some general distaste for violence, these hard-won gains should be destroyed by the imposition of anarchy?

Other questions of profound interest are raised. Can democracy rise to its opportunities in the field of foreign policy? Is the use of force for the establishment of order, the most

justifiable of all possible forcible actions, acceptable, like the police, even to the Quaker? Is there for the Christian a special claim from the fellow-believer in Christ?

Above all, we are driven to ask ourselves, What are the social ideals that we follow? Are there any that we hold worth working for? The cynic tells us that persecutor and persecuted are equally bad; small nations are a failure; they have never shown themselves able to conquer; it were better if other nations now liberated had been left to the Turk. It is well for us, then, to consider, What is any good? What is of any value in our so-called civilization? What are the achievements which characterize it? Are they conquest and dominion, which belonged to Christian and Moslem alike, or are they rather (if we step back to obtain a more general view) the achievements of literature, of art, of social betterment, of political organization, and mastery over material nature? These distinguish the small Christian states equally with the great conquerors, and that which has fashioned them is at bottom the Christian maxim, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' It was upon far other ideals that the choice of Mahomed fell.

Then the question arises, How did those ideals grow? Is all this a matter of religion? Whether our ideals will live without it at least a hundred years will be required to prove, but that they did not grow without it is certain. What time will show we cannot tell. One thing alone is clear—that the clash of East and West is a conflict of two fundamental principles of life, as expressed in material force—the Mahomedan principle, namely, of a belief in conquering power, and the Christian principle which looks to the forces of the spirit and the mind.

Unless to all these questions we make the reply of the cynic, they lead us to the practical field, and of necessity (because it is a matter of foreign affairs) to the principles on which a Government should act. In practice the simple instincts of self-preservation on the one hand or of humanity on the other usually point with sufficient clearness to action. But here is a case where the issue is confused and little understood; and now, more than of yore, we feel the need of theoretic principles to justify action. What is the first and simplest theory on which we ought to proceed? It is the simple principle which the Duke of Argyll enunciates in his volume upon our duty to Turkey, when he

says: 'Every Christian nation has a commission to remove such evils as may be accessible to its efforts.' But this commission is overshadowed by the more obvious duty of redressing the wrongs for which we are ourselves responsible, and no obscurity clouds our sense of obligation to rescue the people whom we placed in slavery in 1878. Again, to every lover of our country and the principles for which she stands it is clearly the part of self-governing peoples to encourage self-government among all those who are fit for it.

It is a question less easily answered, What call have we to protect our interests? On this the history of Macedonia throws light; it makes clear that if interest is to govern our action, it should be pursued with an enlightened and liberal spirit. To obstruct Russia by supporting Turkey was a policy now regretted, both on moral and political grounds. To safeguard ourselves by promoting autonomy and national rights, which just principle also dictates, is a policy equally sensible and just. It was adopted by Lord Salisbury and Lord Lansdowne, but with inadequate vigour. Macedonia is not alone a matter of humanity. We want not less but more attention to the problem of our real interests. England is, above all,

concerned in spreading the idea of legality among the nations, and disinterested conduct, if only from the advantages of possessing a good reputation, brings in the end its material reward.

A larger problem is involved in the question, What duty has a Government to express the moral feeling of its nation? Politics would appear the last field of human action to which morals are applied, and even the simplest moral principle, that of the Good Samaritan, is not yet accepted as applicable to states. A minister has to consider—be his policy one of interest or humanity—whether public feeling is adequate to justify the cost or the risk. He is trustee for the public estate, and must not act on his own desires alone. With regard to Turkey, there is no lack of public desire for action, even at a sacrifice; the danger is rather this—that the policy of supporting reform is so widely accepted by Liberal and Conservative alike, that the stimulus of party feeling is lacking to push forward the question, so that a Government to-day has not so much to refrain from going beyond public support as to take care that a cause which is silent because it commands universal consent shall not be neglected.

But though the stimulus of party animosity is lacking to keep the Turkish question to the front, there are few who, having realized the state of things, are not sincerely anxious to know what a citizen should do in the matter. It has sometimes been too little considered on what principles interference by the public in foreign affairs should proceed. Experience has not been fortunate. It has usually taken the shape of epidemic outbursts of public clamour, suddenly prompted by the discovery that material interest or humane duty was at stake. In a country like England the public will never be debarred from asserting itself in this way in foreign affairs; and the moral of history is not so much that laymen should leave the Foreign Office to itself as that their concern should be continuous and well informed, in order that it may never be panic-stricken. The Turkish question, being remote and complicated and not often in the public mind, requires above all others specially assiduous concern. Other questions have competed with it at the very time that it most needed attention. When it became practical, in 1903, Mr. Chamberlain had just launched the cause of Protection; then came the Russo-Japanese war, and afterwards the greatest upheaval of our lifetime, the

Russian revolution. From dragging its course so long, and from the knowledge that in the past it has involved us in huge mistakes, the question has become wearisome. The facts of the case are so disgusting that no one likes to speak of them; they are so revolting that while in a way we believe them we do not visually accept the belief. Although we admit the special advantage of a disinterested policy abroad, just because it is not a matter of our own gain, yet the Turkish Question is one which we would most gladly ignore, because our interference has been disastrous in the past.

It is to meet the needs of those who feel these difficulties that permanent organizations are required.* They find a response from unexpectedly numerous people all over the country. They proceed on the principle that, in a matter of such complexity, it is specially essential to organize together, so far as possible, all those who could claim personal knowledge of the matter. They set themselves to collect information, and supply that information, through the Press and in other ways, to the large number of persons, many of them Members of Parliament, who ask for it. They urge that this question—while it should

* *Vide* Appendix, The Balkan Committee.

be placed in its due proportion to others which claim our attention—is yet one of paramount importance, and must not be forgotten; for if, in one respect, such abominations as those of the Congo are more deplorable because performed by Europeans, those of Turkey are, without exaggeration, the greatest atrocity on the surface of the world, because the sufferers themselves are civilized beings.

The public conscience demands expression when it is aggrieved. But, above all, we must concern ourselves with action; no generous impulse of ours must deter us from this guiding principle. If no reform can result from agitation, agitators must keep quiet. For this reason, above all, the attention of experts is needed, so that the time for action may be rightly chosen, and false hopes among the oppressed, which might lead, as they have sometimes done, to further sufferings, may not be raised. An organization can always ascertain whether the Government intends to act, and whether it welcomes agitation. Satisfied on this point, what it can do is to provide a support to the Foreign Minister, and an argument, based on the fact that public opinion demands activity, which the Govern-

ment can use in urging action upon other Powers. Lord Salisbury and Lord Lansdowne made use of this argument in a number of cases. It is here, by supporting such a committee, that every one can do something for the cause, whether with financial aid or by arousing interest in others. As a pebble thrown into the lake carries a ripple to the farthest shore, so every effort takes effect. Government is the reflection of public opinion and obeys the public will; influence is increased by organization, and it is by joining in exerting influence that every man or woman can do some tangible thing to make possible a life of decency and goodwill in a hundred thousand homes.

We neglect the claim of those who have fallen among thieves at our peril. Nations, equally with persons, must pay dearly for breaking a moral law.

And by what law are we bound?

By the call of common human nature, to aid the victim of cruelty; by the proud tradition of our country—always foremost in aid of liberty and national right; by the simple debt of honour, incurred through our action in the past, and not yet paid.

APPENDICES

A.—BERLIN TREATY, 1878.

Article XXIII.

'The Sublime Porte undertakes scrupulously to apply in the Island of Crete the Organic Law of 1868, with such modifications as may be considered equitable.

'Similar laws adapted to local requirements, excepting as regards the exemption from taxation granted to Crete, shall also be introduced into the other parts of Turkey in Europe, for which no special organization has been provided by the present Treaty.

'The Sublime Porte shall depute Special Commissions, in which the native element shall be largely represented, to settle the details of the new laws in each province.

'The schemes of organization resulting from these labours shall be submitted for examination to the Sublime Porte, which, before promulgating the Acts for putting them into force, shall consult the European Commission instituted for Eastern Roumelia.'

Article LXII. (Extract).

'In no part of the Ottoman Empire shall difference of religion be alleged against any person as a ground

for exclusion or incapacity as regards the discharge of civil and political rights, admission to the public employments, functions, and honours, or the exercise of the various professions and industries.

'All persons shall be admitted, without distinction of religion, to give evidence before the tribunals.'

B.—LORD LANSDOWNE'S PROPOSAL TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, JANUARY, 1905.

HIS MAJESTY'S Government suggest that the Powers should now demand:

(*a*) An immediate reduction of the military forces now maintained by Turkey in Macedonia and its neighbourhood to the number strictly required for the maintenance of internal order and security; this number to be fixed for a definite period of years. It would be reasonable to expect that Bulgaria would, in this event, be willing to carry out a simultaneous and corresponding reduction.

(*b*) The appointment for a term of years of a Commission consisting of delegates nominated by the Powers, and placed under the presidency of the Inspector-General.

The Commission would be given administrative and executive powers, and would, in the first instance, be instructed to frame, without delay, schemes for the effective control of the administration of finance and justice. The financial reforms should include commu-

tation of the tithes, and provide for a fixed payment to the Porte by each of the Macedonian vilayets, the balance of the revenue collected remaining available for local purposes. The Inspector-General, assisted by the Commission, might be entrusted with the command of such Turkish troops as it might be found necessary to retain in Macedonia.

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The objects of the Committee may be stated as follows:

1. To educate public opinion in the knowledge that grave responsibilities were incurred by Great Britain in 1878 at the Treaty of Berlin, when she secured the restoration of Macedonia to the rule of the Turk.

Had it not been for English action in 1878, the whole of the area of massacre and outrage in 1903 would have been part of a free and prosperous Balkan State.

2. To focus public opinion by the organization of meetings, and the publication of accurate news as to the state of the country. Lord Lansdowne, in 1903, appealed for expressions of public opinion in order to strengthen his hands.

3. By means of the Press, Parliament, and direct communication with the Foreign Office, to keep before His Majesty's Government what we believe to be the inflexible attitude of informed English opinion as to the Macedonian question.

4. To co-operate with the movement for Macedonian reform in France, Italy, Germany, the United States, Russia and Austria, so as to secure, as far as possible, common aims and action.

5. To promote the interests of all the Balkan States in this country, and to encourage travel in those countries and a sympathetic study of their history, customs, and institutions. It is the Committee's hope that these States may be allowed to develop their own national life and institutions free from foreign interference.

6. *To keep always in the forefront, as the firm conviction of this country and the essential claim of its policy, the statement that no reforms are worth the paper they are written on unless they provide for the transference of executive control from the hands of the Sultan to those of European officials; and further, that unless some such reform is very speedily carried out bloodshed and anarchy in Macedonia will find their climax in a war, which may possibly lead to a European conflagration, and certainly affords a prospect to avert which a most determined effort should be made on the part of all lovers of peace.*

D.—A TURKISH PRISON.

The prisons are not only crowded so full that the prisoners cannot lie down at night, but torture is common; and merely to extort statements which may incriminate others, whether false or true, unthinkable sufferings are inflicted. The following is, perhaps, a piece of evidence worth repeating, because it is seldom that ocular evidence is available. It is confirmed in this case beyond any shadow of doubt.

It is part of a recent letter from a European deserving of every confidence. The names of the persons

tortured, places, as well as the dates, are suppressed, for fear that the Turkish officials should take revenge on the injured persons. There are details in the letter which are quite unfit for publication :

'Five of the men imprisoned here have been released and have returned, nothing being found against them. I have taken the statements of three of these from their own mouths, and give them below.

'One of these men says that he was taken to prison and was to have been put into the common prison with the criminals; but found a corporal who was a friend of his, who secured the privilege for him of being sent to the barracks instead, and that no indignities were practised on him. He was examined and nothing found against him, and he was released. Of course, he had to provide his own bedding and food, and fee his gaolers freely; but that is a matter of course, and is hardly counted as a cause of complaint.

'Another man, one of the prominent and well-to-do men in the community, was arrested and thrown into prison just before nightfall. He was put into a room in the criminals' prison, where fourteen condemned criminals were serving out sentences for varying terms, some even for life as murderers. He was stripped naked, was made to kneel on a stick of rough firewood with another stick behind his knees, and thus sit on his feet; then in that position with another similar stick he was beaten on the thighs above the knees. If he leaned forward at all to relieve the strain, as he must involuntarily do, he was struck violently under the chin to force him to hold his head erect. For five days thereafter he was unable to shut his teeth together.

Then he was beaten on the lower legs over the shin-bones. A shoemaker's awl was driven under the nail of the third finger of the right hand, of the big toe and second toe of the right foot, and of the big toe of the left foot. There was a hole in the wall like a stove-pipe hole. His hand was thrust through, and the criminals in the next room burned his hand with heated tongs in several places. Then the fire-shovel was heated in the coals, and he was burned in four places on the buttocks and back. Then with the red-hot tongs a form of torture which cannot be described was practised. Slighter burns were made on his face and forehead. His ears were pulled and twisted until they bled. Then he was compelled to drink urine (not his own) from the vessel in the room. He thanked God that the fire in the mangal was so nearly out that they could not heat the shovel again. They tried to get some fire from the next room, but it was out there also. After this he was left standing naked for at least five hours, until towards morning he was allowed to dress and sit down on the mud floor. During these tortures he was continually asked to "confess," to say something about someone, that such a man in the place was a member of a "committee," or something of that sort. But he remained firm all through. He was asked if he was a Giaour or a Mussulman, implying that if he would acknowledge Islam he would be released.

'I asked this man if he knew what other prisoners had suffered, and he said that he did not, because all were treated separately, only he heard one whom he knew screaming for mercy. Also another, who was in the next room, had his arm thrust through the same

hole in the wall already mentioned, and the criminals on this side burned it, and he heard him say, "You were the head of our committee of twenty-five," and then added, "I am not saying this; they are making me say it."

'The next morning, supported by two men, he was taken before the Mutessarif, and immediately made complaint of the way in which he had been treated. He insisted on opening his clothes and showing his wounds. The Governor professed sorrow, said it was a mistake, and should not happen again. He was examined and sent back to another part of the prison, where he could be more comfortable. A physician was allowed to see him once and treat him. The city physician, a Turk, was sent to see him, but he refused treatment from him, and demanded a report from him of his condition that he might bring an action against the Government. Influential men worked for him, and finally he was sent home.

'I saw him sixteen days after the receipt of the injuries. The burns on his face were healed. The left ear was swollen and inflamed. Discoloration on upper part of the left arm from bruises was about 2 by 4 inches in extent. Third finger of right hand was much swollen, inflamed, skin peeling off, evidently in course of healing after a severe wound infection. Third finger of left hand had a large partially-healed wound, and there were seven or eight scars of burns on the back of the hand. There were four wounds on the back and buttocks, evidently from burning, not yet healed, with scabs over them, about 3 or 4 inches wide by 5 inches long. The worst wound was still red and inflamed. On each leg above the knee the dis-

coloration from bruising was marked, extending 6 or 8 inches above the kneecap. Below the knee and on the heels were scars of bruises and burns.

'Another man arrested at the same time as those named was taken to a room next to them. He was stripped naked. His right hand and arm were thrust through the hole in the wall into the next room and burned with the tongs. An awl was thrust under the nail of the thumb. His fingers were bent back until they seemed to break. He was beaten on the back, and told to charge one of the others with being the head of the committee. He called out to him, "Were you not the head of our committee? I am not saying this; they are compelling me to say it." (These two men had not seen each other at all since that time, but their story agreed.) Then he was beaten more for saying this. He was placed in the same position as the first man mentioned, with the sticks under and behind the knees, and beaten on the legs above the knees with a stick of firewood. He was seized by the throat and choked. Awls were driven into the soles of his feet. A stake was sharpened and he was made to sit on it with it pressing against the perinæum, and then a man sprang on his back. The stake did not penetrate. A rope was put round his neck and drawn up until he was choking, when the "guardian" of the prison came along and told them not to do that. Later, a handkerchief was tied round his neck and twisted until he was choking, and meanwhile he was beaten on the back, but at the eighth blow he fainted. Later, long nails were brought to drive through his feet to the floor, but this was not done. He was made

to stand in cold water up to the knees (still naked), holding a mangal of hot coals in his hands for an hour and a half. At the least sign of dropping it he was beaten. Some time after midnight he was allowed to crawl into the charcoal-bin and go to sleep. While still sleeping, suddenly someone took a handful of earth and crowded it into his mouth, dragged his fez down over it with one hand and choked him by the neck with the other. He seemed to be just dying when someone else released him. Blows on the head and face, small burns on the face, kicks, etc., were common all through the time, and he said he did not count that. In the morning he was brought before the Governor, and when he complained of his treatment, the Governor said, "My, son, this is a mistake. I am very sorry for it; it won't happen again." The rest of the time he was imprisoned elsewhere. He was subsequently released. Release, of course, means that absolutely nothing was found against them.

'I saw this man on March 22, sixteen days after the receipt of the injuries. There was a large unhealed sore with a scab on his right arm, 3 inches long. The wound made by the awl is still to be seen under the nail of the right thumb, down to the root of the nail. There were three sores on the lower part of the back and buttocks in the shape of a rude cross, 4 or 5 inches each way. The men had said while doing it: "This is your God; we will mark you with it." There was discoloration from bruises on both legs, extending 6 inches above the knees, and on the heels. He says that one foot is still without any sensation.'

* * * * *

The illness of a single friend easily engrosses all our concern. If he were the victim of torture we should be furious. If his murderer were a foreign invader, and no redress were possible, we should plan some desperate revenge. Yet, when we know of such enormities, not singly, but in hundreds, imagination fails; and we are unmoved; therefore, I make no apology for the publication of harrowing details. Without them it is quite impossible to see the facts in their true light. These things are happening to-day, and will happen till we realize them.

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